

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
DESCENT of the ROMANS,
TO THE
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.
INSCRIBED TO
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
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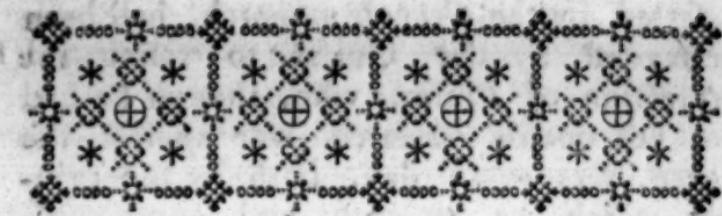
HISTORY is philosophy teaching by examples.
Bolingbroke from Dion. Hal.

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THE
History of ENGLAND.

*The HISTORY of ELIZABETH,
continued. A. D. 1580.*



LIZABETH considered herself as deeply interested in every revolution that happened in Scotland; because that country alone, not being divided from England by sea, and bordering on all the Catholic and disaffected counties, furnished her enemies with an easy entrance into the heart of her kingdom; and because she was informed, that Mary, thinking herself

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deserted by the French monarch, had been persuaded by the Guises to solicit the protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet openly declared war against the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he received and committed, more highly incensed against her.

Provoked at the succours which she had afforded to his rebels in the Low-Countries, he sent, under the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always mutinous, and averse to the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to take up arms on the first encouragement.

The Spanish general, San Josepho, erected a fort in Kerry; and being there invested by the earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after reinforced by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a very weak and feeble resistance. After some brave and vigorous assaults, the place submitted at discretion; and Gray, who had but a small army, finding himself encumbered with too many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred Irish: an act of barbarity at which Elizabeth was greatly offended.

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When the English ambassador complained of these hostilities, he was answered by like complaints of the pyracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold and daring seaman, who had attacked the Spaniards in the place, where they thought themselves the most secure, in the new world.

This man, born of mean parents in the county of Devon, having amassed a large fortune by some depredations made on the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Panama, and having there got a view of the Pacific Ocean, was so actuated by ambition and avarice, that he ventured to employ his whole substance in a new adventure through those seas, so little known at that time to all the European nations.

By the interest of Sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen, he procured her consent and approbation; and set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, manned with an hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He entered the South-Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and assaulting the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those parts, he took several rich prizes, and prepared to return with the immense booty he had obtained.

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Fearing, however, that, if he took the same way homewards by which he came into the Pacific Ocean, he might be intercepted by the enemy, he endeavoured to find a passage by the North of California; and failing in that attempt, he directed his course towards the East-Indies, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, arrived this year in England.

He was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe; and the first commander in chief: for Magellan, whose ship achieved the same adventure, died during the voyage. His name became very famous on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, dreading the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to convince the queen, that it would be more adviseable to disavow the enterprize, to punish Drake, and to make restitution of the treasure.

But Elizabeth, whose magnanimous mind was charmed with every appearance of valour, and who was tempted by the prospect of sharing the riches, resolved to support that gallant sailor: she honoured him with the order of knighthood; and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship, which had performed such a memorable voyage.

When Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, remonstrated against Drake's piracies, she told

told him, that his master, by claiming a right to the whole new world, and excluding from it all other European nations, who might sail thither, even with a view of exercising the most lawful commerce, very naturally invited others to make violent irruptions into these countries.

Nevertheless, to appease the Spanish monarch, she ordered part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants, whom Drake had plundered. Hearing, however, some time after, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it in paying the prince of Parma's troops, she was resolved to make no more restitutions.

In the beginning of the year the queen assembled a parliament, which, besides granting to her majesty a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of the government, chiefly against the attempts of the Catholics.

Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was adjudged to be guilty of treason: to say mass was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; and whoever continued absent from church for the space of a month

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month was liable to a fine of twenty pounds. To utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony; the writing or printing such words was felony even on the first offence.

The parliament was induced to pass these severe laws against the Catholics, by some late discoveries, which had been made of the treasonable practices of the Romish priests.*

When the worship of the Catholics was abolished, and the Reformation introduced into the universities, the king of Spain considered, that as some degree of learning was necessary for the support of these doctrines and controversies, the Romish communion must be totally destroyed in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the ecclesiastics; and for this reason, he established a seminary at Douay, where the Catholics sent their children, chiefly those designed for the church, in order to receive the rudiments of their education.

The cardinal of Lorraine followed this example by founding a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the pope would not neglect

gleft to adorn with a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy.

These seminaries, erected with this hostile intention, transported, every year, a colony of priests, who maintained the Catholic superstition in the full height of its bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by fatigue or danger, from publishing and propagating their pernicious principles.

They inspired all their votaries with an irreconcileable antipathy to the queen; whom they represented as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the Holy father. Sedition, rebellion, and even sometimes assassination, were the methods, by which they proposed to accomplish their purposes against her; and the severe, though necessary, restraints, to which the Catholics were now subjected, made them listen the more willingly to such violent doctrines.

The bull of pope Pius in absolving the subjects from their oath of allegiance, enjoined them to oppose the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists imagined, that, by this clause they were bound in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity,

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portunity offered, to rebel against her, and to attempt every possible expedient in order to effect her dethronement.

But Parsons and Campian, two Jesuits, were sent over to convince these zealots, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her adherents, it did oblige the Catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to demand it. Campian was afterwards detected in some treasonable practices; and being put to the torture, he acknowledged his guilt, and was publicly executed.

Elizabeth was so apprehensive of the hostile intentions of Philip, whose power was greatly augmented by his late acquisition of Portugal, that she resolved to contract a close alliance with the French monarch, and by that means to secure herself against the attempts of her formidable enemy.

With this view she lent a favourable ear to the proposals of marriage that were made her by the duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou; and though her suitor was twenty-five years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person but by pictures or descriptions, she was still pleased with the counterfeit image of

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of love and courtship which his addresses afforded her.

The duke, in order to forward his suit, besides employing his brother's ambassadors, sent over Simier, an agent of his own; a man of polite and insinuating manners, who soon discovering the queen's humour, entertained her with gay discourse, and instead of engaging her in serious and political reasonings, which he found, only rouzed her ambition, and hurt his master's interests, introduced every moment all the topics of love and gallantry.

The pleasure which she took in this man's company, was followed by a great familiarity between them; and amidst the greatest hurry of business, her wisest ministers had not such easy access to her person, as had Simier, who, under pretence of negociation, amused her with accounts of the tender love and affection which the duke of Anjou bore her.

The earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed at any courtship that was made to her, and who had always hoped that her love of power would triumph over her inclination to marriage, began to suspect, that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement, which she had given to this young

young suitor, had insensibly engaged her affections.

The better to defeat the match, he took advantage of the credulity of the times, and diffused a report, that Simier had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and love-potions.

Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to ruin Leicester, and acquainted her with a secret, which none of her courtiers had dared to disclose; that this nobleman was secretly married to the widow of the earl of Essex; an action which the queen considered either as a mark of his disrespect to her, or a violation of their mutual attachment; and which incensed her to such a degree, that she threatened to commit him to the Tower.

So far was the quarrel between Leicester and the French agent carried, that the former was supposed to have suborned one Tudor, a bravo, to murder his enemy; and the queen was obliged, by public proclamation, to put Simier under her protection.

One day while the queen was taking her pleasure on the Thames, accompanied by Simier and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of her bargemen; but Elizabeth finding upon enquiry,

quiry, that the piece had been discharged by chance, restored the person to his liberty without farther punishment. So fully was she convinced of the fidelity and attachment of her people, that she was frequently heard to say, "that she would give credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children."

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts which he had received from Sinner, paid a secret visit to the queen at Greenwich; and, after a short conversation with her, the subject of which is not known, he departed.

It appeared, that, though his figure was far from being agreeable, he had lost nothing by this personal interview; and, soon after, the queen ordered Burleigh, now treasurer, Sussex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to settle with the French ambassador the terms of the intended marriage. *

Henry sent over on this occasion a very splendid embassy to England, composed of Francis de Bourbon, prince of Dauphiny, and many considerable noblemen; and as Elizabeth had, in a manner, the power of chusing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon adjusted with the English commissioners.

It was agreed, that the marriage should be solemnized within six weeks after the ratification of the articles ; that the duke and his attendants should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion ; that after the marriage he should enjoy the title of king, but the administration should remain in the hands of Elizabeth ; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England ; that if there be two males, the eldest, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England ; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years ; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate ; and that no foreigner should be advanced by the duke to any office in England.

These articles, securing the independency of England, in case of its being annexed to the crown of France, presented but a very dismal prospect to the English ; had not the age of the queen, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed greatly to allay their apprehensions on this occasion.

The queen also, as a mark of her still remaining in uncertainty, subjoined a clause, that

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S^r. FRANCIS WALSINGHAM



Engraved for Rider's History of England.

that she was not obliged to compleat the marriage, till farther articles, which are not mentioned, should be adjudged between the parties, and till the king of France should be informed of this agreement.

Soon after, the queen dispatched Walsingham as her ambassador to France, to contract a closer connexion with Henry, and to conclude a league offensive and defensive against the formidable power and dangerous usurpations of Spain.

The French king, who dreaded the restless and ambitious spirit of his brother, and who would have been extremely glad to have settled him in England, or any other foreign country, was very unwilling to enter into a negociation on that subject alone; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to adjust the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, apprehending that hostility with Spain would be the necessary consequence of this confederacy, had declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage.

The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, interrupted the conferences concerning the league, and engaged in a negociation for the marriage: but matters had not long proceeded in this train, before the queen again declared for

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the league in preference to the marriage, and commanded Walsingham to resume the conferences for that purpose.

Before he had time to finish this point, he was surprised by a new change of resolution; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Raleigh, and all the other ministers of Elizabeth, were confounded at her inconstancy, and waited, with impatience, to see where this contest, between her inclination and reason, her love and ambition, would at last terminate.

The duke had wrote to Elizabeth for a supply of money, in order to enable him to begin his operations in Flanders; and the queen, notwithstanding her extreme frugality, was at last persuaded to grant his request. She sent him a present of an hundred thousand crowns; by which, added to his own revenues, and the assistance of the queen mother, he assembled an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He compelled that general to raise the siege of Cambray; and, being elected by the states governor of the Netherlands, he dispersed his troops into winter-quarters, and came over to England, in order to renew his addresses to the queen.

He met with such a gracious and favourable reception, that he began to entertain the

most

most sanguine hopes of success, and fondly concluded that Elizabeth had now overcome all her scruples, and was finally resolved to chuse him for her husband.

While she was celebrating the anniversary of her coronation, which happened on the seventeenth day of November, she was seen, after a long and intimate conversation with him, to pull a ring from her own finger, and to fix it on his; and all the spectators imagined, that, in this ceremony, she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of publishing her intention to the world.

St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, immediately sent a letter to his masters, acquainting them with this great event; and the citizens of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, considered the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, expressed their joy by bonfires, and the discharge of their great cannon.

One Stubbs, a puritan of Lincoln's-Inn, had wrote a passionate book, which he entitled, "The gulph in which England will be swallowed up by the French marriage." He was seized and prosecuted by order from the queen, and condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the courage and loyalty of the man, that, immediately after the execution of the sen-

tence, he took off his hat with his other hand, and, waving it over his head, cried, “ God save the queen.”

But, notwithstanding the visible attachment which Elizabeth discovered to the duke of Anjou, she was far from being fully resolved on the marriage; she was extremely unwilling to share her authority with any other person, and she was fully sensible that the match would be attended with the most fatal consequences to England.

Besides, all her principal courtiers, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, exerted their utmost endeavours in order to dissuade her from such a pernicious project; and the ladies of her bed-chamber made no scruple of opposing her intention with the most zealous remonstrances.

The queen was deeply affected by all these various considerations; and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose. At length, her prudence and ambition got the better of her temporary inclination; and having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conversation with him in private, where she was supposed to have given him her reasons for renouncing her former engagements.

The duke left her presence with visible marks of displeasure; threw away the ring which he had received from her; and uttered

tered many curses on the fickleness of women and the inconstancy of islanders. Soon after he went over to his government of the Netherlands ; forfeited the confidence of the States, by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties ; was banished that country ; withdrew into France ; and there died.

The queen, by her timely reflection, preserved herself from the many mischiefs to which such a marriage must certainly have given occasion ; and the present distracted state of the French monarchy, secured her against the effects of that resentment which she had reason to dread from so wanton an affront put upon that royal family.*

Elizabeth was extremely anxious, during the whole course of her reign, on account of every revolution which happened in Scotland. The earl of Lennox, and James Stewart, who now assumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired an unlimited influence over the mind of their young sovereign ; and, by their arbitrary and illegal proceedings, exposed not only themselves, but likewise their master, to the odium of the public.

It was not the temper of the Scots, to submit patiently to any kind of oppression : they

they no sooner felt the iron rod of power, than they instantly began to seek for redress ; and, if they could not procure it by fair and gentle means, they immediately had recourse to the most violent and desperate expedients.

After having in vain endeavoured to displace the two favourites, they formed a conspiracy, in concert with Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry ; and the design, being carefully concealed, succeeded without opposition.

The leaders in this enterprize, were the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marr, the lords Lindefsey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermling, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. James wept when he found himself detained a prisoner ; but the master of Glamis said, “ No matter for his tears ; better that boys should weep, than bearded men.”

These words made a deep impression on the king’s mind, and were never afterwards forgotten. But notwithstanding his resentment, he was obliged to yield to the present necessity. He pretended to be fully satisfied with the conduct of the associators ; acknowledged the detention of his person to be an acceptable service ; and promised

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to summon an assembly of the church, and a convention of the states, in order to ratify that enterprize.

Neither of these bodies made the least difficulty in approving the undertaking : Arran was seized, and imprisoned in the castle of Stirling ; Lennox might easily have made some resistance ; yet, rather than excite a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed, he chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. In his last moments, he discovered such a firm adherence to the Protestant faith, as fully vindicates his memory from an attachment to Popery, with which he had been uncharitably loaded in Scotland.

As he was the first, and the best beloved, he was perhaps the most deserving, though not the most able, of all James's favourites. The warmth and tenderness of his master's affection for him, was not abated by death itself. By many acts of kindness and generosity towards his posterity, the king not only did great honour to the memory of Lennox, but gave the most convincing proof of the goodness of his own heart, and the sincerity of his friendship.

No sooner was Elizabeth informed of this revolution, than she sent Sir Henry Cary, and Sir Robert Bowes, to Scotland, in order to congratulate the king on his deliverance.

ance from the pernicious counsels of Lennox and Arran; to advise him not to resent the seeming violence of the lords enterprise; and persuade him not to agree to the return of the earl of Angus, who, ever since Morton's fall, had resided in England.

The ambassadors had no difficulty in gaining the last point; and, as James suspected, that Elizabeth had had some share in the project of his detention, he thought it most adviseable, for the present, to conceal his resentment against the confederated noblemen.

Soon after, La Mothe Fenelon, and Menneville, arrived as ambassadors from France; their business was to make enquiry concerning the situation of the king, to assure him of their master's friendship, to renew the ancient league with France, and to effect a reconciliation between James and his mother.*

The Scottish clergy were the more alarmed at this last proposal, as the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French, in recommending a measure which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the reformed religion; but the more sensible part of the nation were fully

fully convinced, that the English were, by no means, sincere in this particular.

There were many reasons which might induce Elizabeth to oppose the restoration of Mary. If this princess should ever recover her authority in Scotland, her resentment, her ambition, and connections both foreign and domestick, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England ; and enable her, after suppressing the English party among her subjects, to renew those pretensions which she had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her adherents in both kingdoms still maintained with great zeal and industry.

If she was replaced on the throne, with such strict limitations as could not be broken, she might be dissatisfied with her condition ; and flying into foreign countries, might engage in more bold and desperate attempts, than any sovereign, who had a crown to lose, would willingly undertake.

Mary herself was sensible of these difficulties ; and, being fully satisfied that Elizabeth would never agree to her restoration, was become more moderate in her wishes ; and was willing to forego all her hopes of power and grandeur, provided she might be indulged with a little more liberty ; a blessing which she very naturally desired with the utmost impatience.

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She therefore proposed, that she should be joined with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland, but the administration should remain solely in his hands; and she was contented to live in England as a private person, and even under a kind of restraint; but with some more liberty, both for exercise and company, than she had enjoyed since the first discovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk.

But the Scots, who dreaded the effects of Mary's bigotted attachment to Popery, and her resentment of that rigour and severity with which they had formerly treated her, flatly rejected all terms of accommodation; and James, who was now a prisoner in the hands of his subjects, declared that he had never assented to any association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than some general proposals for that purpose,

The affairs of Scotland continued not long in their present situation: James found means to escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partizans to attend him. He was there joined by the earls of Argyle, Marshall, Montrose, Rothes, and by such numbers of the nobility and gentry, as were more than sufficient to defeat all the projects of the opposite party.

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A pardon was offered to the delinquents, provided they would make their submission, and acknowledge their fault in seizing the king's person, and depriving him of his liberty. Some of them accepted the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marr, and Glamis, abandoned the country; and fled into England or Ireland, where they were protected by Elizabeth.

The earl of Arran returned to court, and recovered his former influence; and the malecontents who would not submit to the authority of Lennox, a man of virtue and moderation, found, that by their resistance, they had thrown all the power into the hands of a person, equally noted for the violence of his public conduct and the profligacy of his private manners.

Elizabeth sent a letter to James, in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly accused him of inconstancy and breach of promise. James gave her a spirited answer, and turned two passages of Isocrates against her, for one which she had directed against him.

She then dispatched Walsingham, as her ambassador, into Scotland; and her chief purpose in employing that sagacious minister, was to learn, from a man of so much judgment and penetration, the real character and capacity of the young king. As

James's talents were better calculated for conversation than action, he gained a great deal by this interview with the English secretary, who, though he met with a very indifferent reception, gave such a favourable account of his abilities, as induced Elizabeth to treat him thenceforth, with more decency and respect.

The imprudence of James was never more conspicuous, than in the choice of his favourites : and it was not long before Arran, by his arbitrary and oppressive measures, exposed himself to the hatred of the people.* The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was seized and imprisoned ; and, some new impeachment being trumped up against him, he was condemned and executed.

Many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of this minion ; and the banished lords, having received some assistance from Elizabeth, resolved to lay hold of the present opportunity, in order to recover their estates and authority. After failing in one attempt upon Stirling, they succeeded in another ; and being admitted into the king's presence, where pardoned, and restored to favour. Arran was banished from court ; stripped of that estate and title which he had usurped ;

usurped ; and the whole country seemed to be reduced to a perfect state of tranquility.

These revolutions in Scotland, would have been of little importance to the security of Elizabeth, had her own subjects been firmly attached to her person, and had not the zeal of the Catholics, inflamed by constraint rather than persecution, threatned her daily with some dangerous insurrection.

Henry Piercy, earl of Noruhumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Aruudel, son to the unhappy duke of Norfolk, were strongly suspected of having formed some treasonable design against the government.

Both of them were seized and committed to the Tower. The former, conscious of his guilt, and dreading the punishment due to his crime, freed himself from farther prosecution, by a voluntary death.

The latter remained in custody till 1587, when he was brought to his trial for high treason ; chiefly because he had dropped some expression of regard for the Spaniards, and had declared that he would have masses said for the success of the Armada. He was found guilty of treason ; and, though the sentence was not executed, he could never recover his liberty. He died a prisoner in 1595. He carried his religious austerities to such a pitch, that they were commonly supposed

posed to be the immediate cause of his death.

Francis Throgmorton, a Cheshire gentleman, was committed to prison, on account of a letter which he had wrote to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, who had been concerned in his treasonable projects, immediately abandoned the kingdom.

Throgmorton acknowledged a scheme for an invasion and insurrection had been formed; and though, on his trial, he was desirous of retracting this confession, and ascribing it to the fear of torture, he was condemned and executed.

Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, having been engaged in this conspiracy, was commanded to quit the kingdom; and Wade was dispatched into Spain, to excuse his dismission, and to desire the king to appoint another ambassador in his place; but Philip would not so much as grant an audience to the English minister.

Creighton, a Scotch Jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was taken, tore some papers, and threw them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were put together, and discovered some treasonable designs.

Many of these conspiracies were justly ascribed to the arts and intrigues of the queen

queen of Scots ; and, as her name was employed in all of them, the council imagined they could not be too careful in guarding against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper.

She was taken from under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though faithful and diligent in his trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise ; and she was committed to the care of Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury ; men of honour, but rigid and severe in the execution of their office.

At the same time an association was formed by the earl of Leicester, and other courtiers ; and as Elizabeth was extremely popular with all her subjects, except the more zealous Catholics, men of every rank and condition willingly flocked to the subscription of it.

The associators bound themselves to defend the queen against all her enemies ; to revenge her death, or any injury offered to her majesty ; and to exclude from the throne, any person, whatever title they possessed, at whose instigation, or for whose behoof, any attempt should be made against the life or authority of Elizabeth. The queen of Scots was sensible, that the association was levelled against her ; and in order to free herself from all suspicion, she like-

wise begged leave to be one of the subscribers.

On the twenty-third of November, Elizabeth summoned a new parliament; and the members discovered the most zealous attachment to her person and government. They ratified and confirmed the association; and they subjoined a clause, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against the queen: upon sentence, given by these commissioners, the delinquent was deprived of all right to the succession, and was farther liable to such punishment, as her majesty should think proper to inflict. And for the greater security, in case of the queen's violent death, a council of regency was named to punish the authors of that barbarous deed, to conduct the administration of public affairs, and to settle the succession of the crown.

At the same time, in order to strengthen the hands of her majesty, the parliament granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. They likewise passed a severe law against jesuits and Popish priests, importing, that they should leave the kingdom within forty days; that those who should tarry behind that time, or should afterwards return,

return, should be punished as traitors; that those who harboured or assisted them, should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in foreign seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of high-treason: and if any one, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the queen's person, or come within ten miles of the court, their submission should be void, and of no effect.

This law, however rigorous in appearance, was absolutely necessary for the safety of the queen's person, which, even with all these precautions, was constantly exposed to the most imminent danger, from the secret plots or open attempts of the bigotted Romanists.

William Parry, a Catholic gentleman, had obtained the queen's pardon for a capital crime; and having got leave to travel, he withdrew to Milan, and openly professed his religion, which he had artfully concealed while he remained in England.

He here fell into the company of one Palmio, a jesuit, who endeavoured to persuade him, that he could not perform a more meritorious action, than to murder his sovereign and his benefactress: the nuncio

nuncio, Campeggio, concurred in recommending the same pious undertaking ; and Parry, though still filled with doubts and scruples, set out for Paris, with a view of going over to England, and executing his bloody purpose.

He was here confirmed in his cruel design by Thomas Morgan, a person of great credit in the party ; and though Watts and some other Catholic priests assured him, that the attempt was wicked and impious, he paid greater regard to the authority of Raggazzoni, the pope's nuncio at Paris, and was fully determined to persevere in his resolution.

He next wrote a letter to the pope, which was transmitted to cardinal Como ; acquainted the holy father with his intention ; and humbly entreated his absolution and paternal benediction. The cardinal gave him a favourable answer, heartily approved of his godly purpose ; and Parry, thus confirmed, came over to England, in order to perpetrate the horrid deed.

So deeply are the sentiments of morality imprinted in the human mind, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of false religion entirely to eraze them ; and this desperate assassin proposed, before he would proceed to the last extremity, to try every other method for mitigating those hardships

to which the Catholics were at that time exposed,

He found means of being introduced to the queen; told her that many plots were laid for her destruction; and advised her, as the only means of saving her life, to indulge the Catholics with a little more liberty in the exercise of their religion; but lest he should be tempted to murder her at once, he always came to court without any offensive weapon.

He even had interest to procure a seat in parliament; and having made a vehement speech against the severe laws which had been passed in the last session, he was sequestered from the house, and committed to custody, for his presumption. The miscarriage of these attempts, confirmed him the more in his former purpose; and he imparted his design to Nevil, who zealously engaged in the project, and resolved to have a share in the merits of its execution.

A book, lately published by cardinal Allen, contributed farther to silence all their scruples with regard to the murder of heretical princes; and having agreed to shoot the queen, as she was riding on horseback, they determined, if they could not make their escape, to lose their lives in performing a duty, so agreeable, as they thought,

thought, to the will of God, and to true religion.

But while they were waiting for an opportunity of carrying their scheme into execution, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to hope, that, by discovering a secret of so much importance to the queen, he might retrieve the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl.

He accordingly disclosed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being seized, acknowledged the fact, both to them, and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced and read, put Parry's guilt beyond all doubt; and that miscreant having received sentence of death, suffered the punishment which was due to his crime.*

These bloody and detestable designs were the natural effect of that cruel and bigotted spirit, with which the Romanists have, in all ages, been actuated.

One Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, somewhat disorderly in his senses, had heard so much of the merit of assassinating heretical princes, that he came to London with a view of murdering

murdering Elizabeth ; but having discovered his design by his unaccountable behaviour, he was committed to prison, and saved himself from a legal punishment by a voluntary death.

Soon after, Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, formed and executed the same design against the prince of Orange ; and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands of a desperate assassin, who, with a courage worthy of a better cause, sacrificed his own life, in order to destroy the illustrious restorer and protector of religious liberty.

The Flemings, who adored that prince as their guardian angel, were filled with unutterable sorrow, as well when they considered the miserable fate of so worthy a patriot, as their own wretched condition, from the loss of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the uncommon success of the Spanish arms.

The prince of Parma, by his great military talents, had every year gained considerable advantages over them ; he had reduced several of the provinces to submission, and he had undertaken the siege of Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, the reduction of which, it was generally apprehended, would entirely ruin the already declining affairs of the Flemings.

In

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In these distressful circumstances, they dispatched a solemn embassy to London, in order to solicit the protection of the queen, and to make her a tender of the sovereignty of their country. Elizabeth's counsellors were greatly divided, with regard to the conduct which she ought to observe in this delicate and critical conjuncture. Some of them advised her to accept the proposal of the states ; others persuaded her not only to reject it, but even to refuse them all assistance ; and each party endeavoured to support their opinion by many specious and plausible arguments.

Elizabeth foresaw the dangerous consequences attending either extreme ; and she therefore resolved to steer a middle course. She was determined not to behold patiently the total ruin of the revolted provinces, whose interest she considered as intimately connected with her own ; but, sensible that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to exert her whole force in their defence, would excite the jealousy of her neighbours, and perhaps expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, she prudently declined this offer.

She engaged, however, in a league with the states, on the following terms : that she should assist them with an army of five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, at her own expence, during the war ; that the general, and

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SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

and two others, whom she should name, should have a seat in the council of the States; that no peace or treaty should be made but by common consent; that, immediately after the conclusion of the war, she should be re-imburfed for her charges; and that, in the mean time, the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should be put into her hands, by way of security.

Soon after, the earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliaries. He was attended by a splendid retinue; composed of the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Russel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen.

He was met, on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the governour; and every town through which he passed, discovered their joy by acclamations, and triumphal arches, as if his presence, and the queen's assistance, had saved them from impending ruin.

The States, desirous of securing the friendship of Elizabeth, and knowing the influence which Leicester had with her, honoured him with the title of gover-

nour and captain-general of the United-Provinces, assigned him a guard to attend on his person, and treated him, in some measure, as their sovereign.

But this step produced a contrary effect to what they intended. The queen was equally displeased with the artifice of the States, and the vanity of Leicester. She reprimanded both of them very sharply by letters; and it was not without great difficulty, that, after many humble submissions, they were able to regain her favour.

America was considered as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth finding that an open rupture with that monarch must be the necessary consequence of her present measures, determined to attack him in that quarter.

A fleet of twenty sail was fitted out for that purpose: two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, embarked on board of it: Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral: Christopher Carlisle conducted the land-forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, where they found great plenty of provisions, but no riches.*

They

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.



They then directed their course to Hispaniola; and making themselves masters of St. Domingo, compelled the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a large sum of money. They next assaulted Cartagena, which they treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida.

Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the remains of a small colony, which had been settled there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had dwindled away almost to nothing.

This was the first attempt of the English to establish such settlements; and tho' they have since surpassed all other European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and the noble principles of freedom and industry, on which they are founded, they had here been so unfortunate, that the wretched planters deserted their settlements, and persuaded Drake to carry them back with him to England.

He returned with such an immense booty as sufficiently rewarded the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those quarters as contributed greatly to animate the nation to future enterprizes of the like nature. It is commonly supposed that the use of tobacco was first introduced into England by Drake's fleet.

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The earl of Leicester was not so successful as Drake. He gained at first some petty advantage in an action against the Spaniards ; and threw a reinforcement into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence : but all these efforts were rendered abortive by the pusillanimity of Van Hermert, the governor. He surrendered after a very feeble resistance ; and being tried by a court-martial, was condemned to suffer death for his misconduct.

Soon after, the prince of Parma invested Venlo, which, in a few days, capitulated. The fate of Nuys was more dismal ; being taken by storm, during a parley, and abandoned to the fury of the assailants.

Rhimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards ; and Leicester, judging himself too weak to attempt its relief, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma, by undertaking some other enterprize of importance.

He first assaulted Doesberg, which he took : he then invested Zutphen, a place of so great consequence, that the Spanish general resolved to march to its succour. He detached the marquis of Gonzaga with

a small

a small reinforcement, which he intended to throw into the place.

They advanced a considerable way under covert of a fog; but falling by chance on a body of English cavalry, a desperate action ensued, in which the Spaniards were defeated, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was killed.

The pursuit was stopt by the approach of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return to the camp, found their advantage more than counterbalanced by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who having received a mortal wound in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after expired.

This person is represented by the writers of that age as one of the most accomplished gentlemen that ever appeared in this or any other country. Polite, virtuous, brave, and learned, he was at once the delight and ornament of the English court; and as all his influence with the queen and the earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his name has been immortalized by the writings as well of cotemporary, as of succeeding authors.

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No person was so mean, as not to be an object of his humanity and care. After this last action, while he was lying in the field, covered with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to quench his thirst; but seeing a soldier near him in the like mournful condition, he said, "this man's necessity is still greater than mine:" and ordered the bottle of water to be given him.

His fame was not confined to England alone: the king of Scots, charmed with the virtues of this young hero, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on occasion of his death.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary joy which the States had discovered on the arrival of Leicester, they soon found, that his abilities were by no means equal to the task with which he was entrusted.

They were greatly dissatisfied with his conduct of the war; but still more with his haughty and imperious behaviour; and at the end of the campaign, they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, immediately set out for England.

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, while she provoked the resentment of so powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, did not forget to secure herself on the side of Scotland ; and she endeavoured to confirm her alliance with her kinsman James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them.

She sent Sir Edward Wotton as her ambassador into Scotland ; but though she gave him some secret instructions with regard to the management of her affairs, she told James, that when she had any business of importance to transact, she would employ another minister ; that this man was not qualified for serious negotiations ; and that her chief intention in sending him, was to amuse the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake, without reserve, of his pleasures and diversions.

Wotton was a man of great cunning and address, and knew how to conceal, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs, and most dangerous artifices. He soon found means to insinuate himself into the confidence of the young and unsuspecting monarch ; made himself master of all his secrets ; and had so much the more authority with him in political affairs, that he did not seem to give

give any attention to matters of that nature.

The Scottish ministers, perceiving the growing influence of Wotton, endeavoured to obtain his friendship ; and scrupled not to sacrifice to their own selfish views the most essential interests of their master.

Elizabeth, during the whole course of her reign, was extremely jealous with regard to her heirs and successors ; and as James was now of a proper age for marriage, she was afraid, lest, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater influence and authority with her English subjects.

She therefore ordered Wotton to form a secret combination with some Scottish noblemen, and to exact their promise, that for the space of three years, James should, on no account, be allowed to marry.

In consequence of this agreement, they endeavoured to excite a quarrel between him and the king of Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland, under pretence of demanding restitution of the Orkneys, but really with a design of proposing a treaty of marriage between James and his daughter.

Wotton is said to have projected a scheme of a still more dangerous and criminal nature.

nature. He formed a plot with some malecontents, to seize the person of the king, and to carry him by force to England. But the conspiracy was discovered before it could be carried into execution, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the court.

It was natural to think, that James would have resented this traitorous attempt on his person ; but the present situation of his affairs obliged him to conceal his indignation, and his mild and peaceable temper soon induced him to forget the injury.

He even proposed to renew the negotiation for a strict alliance between Scotland and England ; and the queen, pleased with this generous conduct, assigned him a pension equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lennox, lately deceased.

A league was concluded between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now threatened with the most imminent danger from the general confederacy of all the Catholic powers in Europe.

It was agreed, that if Elizabeth was attacked, James should assist her with a body of five thousand foot and two thousand horse ;

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horse; that if James was invaded, Elizabeth should aid him with six thousand foot and three thousand horse; that these auxiliaries should be maintained by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the descent should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James should march to the relief of Elizabeth with the whole forces of his kingdom; and that this league should be binding and valid, so far as religion was concerned, notwithstanding any former alliances which either state might have contracted with foreign princes.

But the life and authority of Elizabeth were exposed to much greater danger from the secret attempts of her disaffected subjects, than from the open attacks of her declared enemies.

The English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rancour and animosity against the queen, whom they represented as a heretic, a schismatic, a persecutor, and an usurper, and whose assassination, they affirmed, would entitle the author, should he perish in the attempt, to the glorious and never-failing crown of martyrdom.

By such doctrines, they persuaded John Savage, a man of desperate fortunes and

an intrepid spirit, who had served some years in the Low-Countries under the prince of Parma, to undertake the murder of Elizabeth; and this assassin having made a vow to persist in his resolution, was sent over to England, and recommended to the favour of the more zealous Catholics.

About the same time, John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, had returned to Paris from his mission in England and Scotland; and as he had observed a spirit of discontent and disaffection very prevalent among the Catholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition a project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of re-establishing, by force of arms, the exercise of the Romish religion in England.

The situation of foreign affairs seemed favourable to this undertaking: the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Guise, and the prince of Parma, agreeing in the same views, had formed a design of making some attempt upon the queen: and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, flattered Ballard with the hopes of receiving assistance from all these princes.

Charles Paget alone, a bigotted Catholic, and a zealous partizan of the queen of

of Scots, being thoroughly acquainted with the prudence, spirit, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always asserted, that, while that princess was permitted to live, no attempt upon England could prove successful.

Ballard, convinced of this truth, saw more plainly the necessity of executing the scheme concerted at Rheims : he came over to England in the disguise of a soldier ; and assuming the fictitious name of captain Fortescue, he exerted his utmost endeavours in order to accomplish at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

The first person, to whom he applied, was Anthony Babington of Dethic in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of an ancient family, enjoyed a plentiful fortune, was endued with an excellent capacity, and had attained a greater knowledge in all kinds of literature than was usual for those of his years and station.

Being zealously attached to the Catholic superstition, he had lately made a private journey to Paris ; where he had contracted an acquaintance with Thomas Morgan, a bigotted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the French court.

These

These zealots soon found means to inspire young Babington with the highest admiration of the Scottish queen; and they employed every argument, which gallantry, ambition, and religion could suggest, in order to induce him to make some attempt in favour of that princess. Finding him well disposed for their purpose, they sent him back to England, and secretly, unknown to himself, recommended him to Mary, as a person equally able and willing to promote her interest.

She wrote him a letter, filled with the warmest expressions of friendship and confidence; and Babington, sanguine in his temper, and zealous in his principles, imagined, that he was now obliged to devote his life, his fortune, and all his faculties, to the service of the unhappy queen.

For some time, he had the address to convey to her all her foreign correspondence; but after she was committed to the care of Sir Amias Paulet, and subjected to a more rigorous confinement, he found this task attended with so much danger and difficulty, that he entirely desisted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to disclose his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not abated: the mention of

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any scheme, that seemed to favour the enlargement of Mary, or the restoration of popery, at once re-kindled his former ardour.

He had entertained, however, the same opinion with Paget, and represented the folly of all attempts, which, during the life-time of Elizabeth, could be made against the established religion and government of England.

Ballard, encouraged by this hint, acquainted him with the design which Savage had formed ; and was glad to find, that, instead of disapproving that project, Babington only thought it not sufficiently secure, when entrusted to one single hand ; and proposed to join four others with Savage, in order to execute the bloody enterprize.

In pursuance of this plan, Babington exerted his utmost endeavours in augmenting the number of his associates ; and he secretly engaged in the plot many Catholic gentlemen, dissatisfied with the present government.

Charles Tilney, the heir of a very ancient family, and Titchbourne of Southampton, when let into the design, expressed some doubts and scruples ; but these were soon silenced by the sophistical arguments of Babington and Ballard.

Barnwell,

Barnwell, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the murder of the queen. But Savage for some time refused to allow them any share in an enterprize which he considered as so meritorious; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with great difficulty that he was at last persuaded to depart from this preposterous ambition.

The delivery of the queen of Scots, at the very moment, when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was necessary for accomplishing the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of an hundred horse, to attack and disperse her guards, while she should be taking the air on horseback.

In this attempt, he was to be assisted by Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; most of them men of family and fortune.

The conspirators, notwithstanding all their care and circumspection, had not been able to elude the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state.

That sagacious minister had ordered Maud, a Catholic priest, whom he retained in his pay, to accompany Ballard in his journey to France, and by that means had got a hint of the scheme concerted by the fugitives. Polly, another of his spies, had had the address to insinuate himself among the conspirators in England; and though not admitted into the bottom of the secret, had procured some insight into the nature of their project.

But the whole of the conspiracy was never discovered, till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his service to Walsingham. By his means the plot was unravelled, and the guilt of Mary, as well as of her adherents, was fully demonstrated.

Babington and his associates having formed a scheme, which, in their opinion, could not fail of success, were extremely desirous to impart the design to the queen of Scots, and to procure her consent and approbation.

In this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might facilitate his secret intercourse with Mary. Walsingham acquainted Paulet with the matter, and begged he would allow Gifford

Lord to bribe one of his servants; but Paulet was unwilling to introduce such a pernicious precedent into his family, and desired they would rather have recourse to some other expedient.

Gifford found a brewer who furnished the family with ale, and prevailed on him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's permission, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance.

Ballard and Babington at first suspected the fidelity of Gifford; and to try his sincerity, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters; but finding, by the answers, that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all farther scruple, and transmitted by his hands the most criminal and important parts of the conspiracy.

Babington acquainted Mary with the scheme formed for a foreign invasion, the project of a domestic insurrection, the plan for her delivery, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he called them, all of them his zealous friends, who, from their devoted attachment to the Catholic religion, and her majesty's service, would engage to perform the meritorious deed.

Mary replied, that she heartily concurred in the design, that the gentlemen might depend on receiving all the rewards, which it should ever be in her power to bestow, and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts should be made for her delivery, or an insurrection.

These letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Ingelfield, were delivered by Gifford to secretary Walsingham ; were decyphered by Philips, his clerk ; and faithful copies of them were taken.

Walsingham made use of a new artifice in order to discover the bottom of the plot : he added to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cypher ; in which he made her desire Babington to send her the names of the conspirators.

The ridiculous vanity of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of discovery as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins ; and a motto was added, implying, that they were jointly embarked in some hazardous enterprize. A copy of this picture was carried to Elizabeth, that she might know the

the assassins, and be upon her guard, if any of them should attempt to approach her person.

Babington, desirous of hastening the foreign succours, determined to send Ballard into France ; and he obtained for him, under a feigned name, a permission to travel. In order to free himself from all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, affected the utmost zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and engaged to employ that influence, which he had acquired among the Catholics, in detecting and defeating their conspiracies.

Walsingham applauded his loyal intentions ; and promising to assist him in the execution of his purpose, he still amused him with fresh hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. In the mean time, a warrant was issued for arresting Ballard ; and this incident, added to the consciousness of guilt, struck the conspirators with the utmost terror and consternation.

Some advised that they should immediately quit the kingdom : others proposed, that Savage and Charnac should instantly attempt the life of Elizabeth ; and Babington, in prosecution of this plan, supplied Savage with money, that he might purchase

purchase good cloaths, and by that means find the readier access to the queen's person.

Next day they began to suspect, that they had taken the alarm too hastily ; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was assured by that artful minister, that the seizure of Ballard was entirely owing to the usual diligence of informers, in the detection of popish and seminary priests.

He even agreed to take private lodgings in Walsingham's house, that they might have the more frequent opportunities of conferring together, before he set out on his journey to France : but finding that all his motions were narrowly watched, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators.

They all took to flight ; and disguising themselves in borrowed habits, lay hid for some time in woods or barns ; but they were at last discovered and thrown into prison.

In their examinations they contradicted each other ; and the leaders were compelled to make a full discovery of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed ; seven of whom confessed the crime on their trial ; the rest were convicted by evidence.

The

The lesser conspirators being thus punished, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots; for whose sake, and by whose concurrence, this deep and dangerous plot had been formed against the life of the queen, and the peace of the kingdom.

Some of Elizabeth's counsellors disapproved of this procedure; and alledged, that the close confinement of a woman, who was become very sickly, and who would probably put a speedy end to all their fears by her natural death, might sufficiently ensure the public tranquillity, without venturing on a measure to which history can hardly furnish a parallel.

Leicester proposed, that Mary should be secretly taken off by poison; and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action: but Walsingham rejected the proposal with abhorrence, and still insisted, in conjunction with the majority of the counsellors, that the queen of Scots should be brought to an open trial.

The situation of England, indeed, was, at this time, extremely critical and precarious. No successor of the crown was appointed: the heir of blood was, by habit and by principle, an enemy to the national reli-

religion : from the numerous injuries which she had long suffered, she was likewise an enemy to the ministers and the principal nobility : and their personal safety, as well as the security of the government, seemed to depend solely on the preservation of the queen's life, who was somewhat advanced in years.

No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, should endeavour to proceed to extremity against her ; and should even be more anxious than the queen herself, to prevent that princess from ever ascending the throne of England.

The queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she was still ignorant of the detection of Babington's conspiracy ; and it was with equal surprize and concern, that she received intelligence of this event from Sir Thomas Gorges, who had been ordered by Elizabeth to execute that office.

He chose the time for giving her this intimation, when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting ; and she was not allowed to return to her former place of abode, but was led through the country from one gentleman's house to another, until she arrived in Fotheringay-castle, which it was resolved to make the last stage of her mortal pilgrimage.

Her two secretaries, Nau a Frenchman, and Curle a Scot, were immediately apprehended ; all her papers were seized and transmitted to the council : above sixty different keys to cyphers were discovered : there were likewise found many letters from persons abroad ; and several too from English noblemen, expressing their attachment to her person and title.

This last discovery the queen thought proper to overlook ; but the persons themselves, conscious of their guilt, and dreading the punishment which their crime deserved, endeavoured to atone for their error, by changing their principles, and declaring themselves thenceforth the most inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.

It was determined to try Mary, not by the common statutes of treason, but by the law which had been enacted the former year, with a view to this very event ; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, composed of forty noblemen and privy-councillors, and empowered them to examine and pronounce sentence against Mary, whom she stiled the late queen of Scots, and heir to James the fifth of Scotland.

The commissioners arriving at Fotheringay castle, sent to her Sir Walter Mildmay,

may, Sir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who gave her a letter from Elizabeth, acquainting her with the commission, and the approaching trial.

Mary received this intelligence without the least astonishment or perturbation : she said, however, that she was somewhat surprised, that Elizabeth should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial before subjects : that she was a sovereign independent princess, and would not comply with any thing which might derogate either from her own majesty, or from the rank and dignity of her son : that, overwhelmed as she was, with calamities and misfortunes, her spirits were not yet so broken as her enemies imagined ; nor would she, on any account, consent to her own disgrace and degradation : that she was totally unacquainted with the laws and statutes of England ; was entirely destitute of council ; and could not conceive who had a title to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial : that though she had lived in England for many years, she had lived in captivity ; and, not having enjoyed the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their authority and jurisdiction : that, notwithstanding

ng the superiority of her rank, she was ready to vindicate her conduct before an English parliament; but could not regard these commissioners in any other light, than as men appointed to palliate, by some show of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that she advised them to look to their character and conscience, in trying an innocent person; and to consider, that these transactions would be somewhere subject to a review, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

In answer to this remonstrance, the commissioners informed her, by a new deputation, that her plea, either from her royal dignity or from her captivity, could not be allowed; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to appear before them.

Burleigh, the treasurer, and Bromley, the chancellor, exerted their utmost endeavours, in order to make her submit to the court; but she still persisted to decline their jurisdiction.

An argument urged by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, at last prevailed. He told her, that, by avoiding a trial, she hurt her own character, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of demonstrating her innocence.

nocence to the conviction of the whole world ; and he affirmed, that nothing would be more agreeable to them, or to the queen their mistress, than to be convinced, by undeniable evidence, that she was guiltless of the crime which was laid to her charge.

By this artful suggestion, Mary was induced to appear before the court ; and thus gave a colour of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented those difficulties in which the commissioners must have been involved, had she continued to maintain so specious a plea, as that of her sovereign and independant character.

On the first day of the trial, Mary, either sensible of her imprudence, or unwilling to descend from her royal dignity, renewed her protestation against the authority of the judges : the chancellor answered, by asserting the supreme authority of the English laws over every person who resided in England : and the commissioners compromised the difference, by ordering both her protestation, and his answer, to be recorded.

These previous steps being taken, the lawyers of the crown opened the charge against the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had permitted cardinal Allen, and others, to address her as

is queen of England ; and that she had maintained a correspondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, with a view of persuading the Spaniards to invade the kingdom.

Mary seemed not very desirous to disprove either of these allegations. She only observed, that she could not prevent others from using what style they pleased in writing to her ; and that it was lawful for her to employ every method, in order to regain her liberty.

An intercepted letter of hers to Mendoza, was next produced ; in which she engaged to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to embrace the Catholic faith ; an event, she said, of which there was no prospect, while he continued in the hands of his Scottish subjects. It was farther proved, that Allen and Parsons were at that very time adjusting, by her orders, in Rome, the conditions of resigning the English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son.

Even this part of the charge, she took no pains to refute ; or rather she seemed to confess it. She said, that she had no kingdoms to bestow ; yet was it lawful for her to dispose of her own as she thought proper,

per, nor was she accountable to any one for her actions.

Mary seems to have secretly entertained the same sentiments which were so openly professed by some of her descendants, and which, it is to be hoped, will never be adopted by any future king of Great Britain: that a sovereign has the same right over his subjects which a private person has over his goods and chattels; an opinion, which reflects disgrace upon human nature, which has always been attended with the most fatal consequences, and which has commonly involved those who have been so foolish as to embrace it, in utter and irretrievable ruin.

It is observable, that Mary was, at this time, so highly incensed against her son, that she had even engaged in a conspiracy against him, had constituted lord Claude Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had persuaded her adherents to seize the king's person and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, who were to detain him in close confinement until he should renounce the Protestant religion.

The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the plot for assassinating queen Elizabeth. This indeed was the principal article of the impeachment, and the only one, which could

could apologize for the violent measures which were taken against her.

In order to prove this point, there was produced the following evidence : copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her assent to the murder was expressly mentioned ; the testimony of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who without being put to the torture, swore, that she had both received these letters from Babington, and that they had wrote the answers by her orders ; the confession of Babington, that he had wrote the letters, and received the answers ; and the declaration of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had shewn them these letters of Mary, written in the cypher which had been settled between them.

It is plain, that the force of all this evidence depends entirely on the veracity of the two secretaries, who alone were privy to their mistress's concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, and who knew themselves exposed to all the horrors of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence, which might be demanded of them.

In the case of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its disadvantages, would be

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considered as legal, and even satisfactory, if not opposed by some other circumstances which might weaken the credit of the witnesses: but, in the present trial, where the prosecutor was possessed of such unlimited power, and was so strongly prompted, both by interest and inclination, to have the princess condemned, the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of probity and honour, ought to be corroborated by very strong circumstances, in order to prevent all suspicion of tyranny and injustice.

The proof against Mary, it must be owned, is not destitute of this advantage; and it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to account for Babington's receiving an answer, wrote in her name, and in the cypher concerted between them, without supposing that the matter was imparted to that princess.

Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has discovered every thing that might lead us to the knowledge of the truth: no wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unprovided with council, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, was altogether incapable of defending her cause in a full and satisfactory manner.

Her

Her defence consisted chiefly in her own denial : but whatever credit might have been due to that denial, it was greatly weakened by her asserting, that she had never maintained any correspondence of any kind with Babington ; a fact, however, which is uncontestedly proved by the state-papers of those times, which have since been published.

She affirmed, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their testimony could not be admitted. She acknowledged, however, that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a person on whose fidelity she might safely rely. She likewise owned that she believed Curle to be a very honest man, but simple, and easily deceived by Nau.

If these two men had received any letters, or returned any answers without her knowledge, the crime, she said, could not justly be laid to her charge. And she was the rather inclined, she added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of the like offence, and had presumed to transact business in her name, without imparting the matter to her. These answers, however,

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however, were considered as mere evasions, and were not sufficient to overturn the evidence of so many witnesses.

The only circumstance of her defence, which seems to have any weight, was her demanding that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and asserting, that they never would, to her face, persist in their testimony. Reasonable, however, as this demand may appear, it was not supported by law in trials of high-treason, and was often refused even in other trials where the crown was concerned.

True it is, there was a clause, in an act of the thirteenth of Elizabeth, importing, that the several kinds of treasons there mentioned, should be proved by two witnesses, confronted with the criminal ; but that act was a deviation from the common custom, and did not affect the present case.

Mary was not tried upon that act ; and the ministers and crown lawyers of this reign would never agree to any indulgence, beyond what was settled by the strict letter of the law and the regular practice of the courts of justice. Add to this, that these secretaries were not probably at Fotheringay during the time of the trial, and could not, of course, upon Mary's demand, be produced by the commissioners.

There

There happened two incidents in this trial, which may be worthy of notice. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel, who was confined in the Tower on suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy : on hearing the name of that nobleman, she broke out into the following exclamation ; " alas ! how much has the " noble house of Howard suffered for my " sake."

She alledged, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to counterfeit the hand-writing and cypher of another; she suspected, that this was no unusual practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had plotted the destruction both of her and her son,

Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, was highly incensed at this imputation thrown upon his honour. He declared, that, in his private capacity, he had attempted nothing against the queen of Scots : in his public capacity, he acknowledged, his regard for his sovereign's safety had made him very active in discovering, by every expedient, all designs against her person or authority.

For accomplishing that end, he would not only avail himself of the assistance of
Ballard

Ballard or any other conspirator ; he would even reward them for betraying their companions. If he had done any thing unworthy of his character or office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, charge him with such practices ?

Mary endeavoured to appease him, by replying, that she only spoke from hearsay ; and she entreated him to give no more credit to such as defamed her, than she would to such as slandered him.

The high character, indeed, which Sir Francis Walsingham bears for probity and virtue, should free him from all suspicion of such base arts as forgery and subornation ; arts which none but the most wicked and corrupt ministers, and hardly even these, would chuse to employ.

The trial being finished, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay to the Star-chamber at London ; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who, voluntarily, without fee or reward, attested the genuineness of the letters between her and Babington, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions.

At the same time, they issued a declaration, importing, "that the sentence did, "in no way, derogate from the title and "honour of James, king of Scotland; but "that he was in the same place, degree, "and right, as if the sentence had never "been pronounced."

Elizabeth had now brought the matter to that situation which she had so long and so ardently wished; and had found a plausible pretext for wreaking her vengeance on a rival, whom, from the beginning of her reign, she had always equally feared and hated.

But there were several reasons which hindered her from carrying the sentence into immediate execution. She foresaw the odious light in which this act of unexampled severity would be represented by the numerous friends of Mary, and the indelible mark of infamy which it would fix upon her own character with all foreign princes; perhaps with all posterity. The laws of hospitality, the ties of kindred, and the rights of royal majesty, seemed all in one signal instance to be grossly violated and infringed; and this sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, would appear equally unworthy of a woman and a queen.

Eliza-

Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmost unwillingness to proceed to extremity, affected the most sincere pity and compassion for her royal prisoner, insisted on her own doubts and scruples, rejected the importunities of her ministers and courtiers, and declared, that, were she not filled with the deepest concern for her people's welfare, she would not hesitate a moment in forgiving all the injuries, which she herself had received from the queen of Scots.

The better to preserve this appearance of clemency, she convoked a new parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest entreaties to agree to that measure, which was so agreeable to her secret inclination.

She was not disappointed in her expectation. The parliament confirmed the sentence pronounced against Mary; and presented an address to her, humbly beseeching her to consent to its publication and execution. She gave them an ambiguous and evasive answer, full of real artifice and seeming irresolution.

She represented the danger to which her life was constantly exposed: she professed

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her willingness to die, did she not foresee the great calamities in which the nation would inevitably be involved: she displayed the lenity of her temper, and expressed her extreme reluctance to proceed to extremity against her kinswoman: she declared, that the late law, by which that princess was condemned, so far from being made to ensnare her, was only designed to give her warning beforehand, not to embark in such attempts as might expose her to the penalties with which she was thus openly threatened: and she begged them to consider, whether it were not possible to devise some other method besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the tranquillity of the public.

In compliance with her desire, the parliament once more took the matter under consideration; but they could not possibly think of any other expedient. They repeated their solicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: they even alledged, that mercy to the queen of Scots, was cruelty to them, her subjects and children; and they asserted, that if execution of the law could not reasonably be denied to any individual, much less could it be refused to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly applying for this

pledge of her paternal care and tenderness.

This second application revived the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth: she lamented her own unhappy situation; expressed her uneasiness at their earnest importunities; professed the warmest affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of parliament, in an uncertainty, what, after all this irresolution, would be the final result of her deliberation.

But though the queen was seemingly so averse to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the parliament's request to publish it; and the proclamation was received with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people.

The lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were dispatched to Fotheringay, to signify to the queen of Scots the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by parliament, and the earnest applications made for its execution by that assembly, who thought that their religion could never be secure while she was alive.

Mary was not in the least intimidated by this intelligence: on the contrary, she joyfully laid hold of the last circumstance mentioned

mentioned to her ; and affirmed, that since the Protestants considered her death as necessary to the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits annexed to that glorious character.

She added, that the English had often embrued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns : no wonder, they offered the same violence to her, who was descended from their monarchs. Paulet, her keeper, was ordered to take down her canopy, and to treat her no longer with the reverence due to princes. He told her, that she was now to be considered as a dead person ; and incapable of any dignity. This insult she bore with the most perfect composure. She only said, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to deprive her of it.

She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth ; full of that dignity which became a queen, without departing from that spirit of meekness and charity, which her sex, as well as her unhappy situation, required. She preferred no petition for averting the punishment to which she was doomed ; on the contrary, she offered up her grateful acknowledgements to heaven for thus putting a speedy

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period to all her sufferings. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and begged she might be indebted for them to her own goodness alone, without being obliged to apply to those ministers who had treated her with such cruelty and barbarity.

She entreated, that, after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which, it was resolved, should never enjoy any rest while her soul was united to it, might be delivered to her servants, and be transported by them into France; there to repose, in a Catholic land, with the sacred relicts of her mother. She desired, that no one might be allowed to bring her to a private death, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution might be public, and accompanied with her ancient servants, who might bear witness to her steady perseverance in the faith, and her cheerful submission to the will of heaven. She begged, that these servants might enjoy the legacies which she had been able to leave them, and might afterwards be suffered to depart the kingdom, and retire to whatever country they pleased.

And she besought her in the name of Jesus, by the soul and memory of Henry the seventh, their common progenitor, by their near consanguinity, and by the royal digni-
ty.

ty with which they were both invested, to gratify her in these particulars, and to indulge her so far, as to signify her compliance by a letter under her own hand. Elizabeth made no answer to this application; being unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present circumstances, and foreseeing inconveniences from yielding to some of her requests.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herself for her approaching fate, great interest was made by all the princes of Europe, in order to prevent the execution of the sentence, pronounced against her. Even Henry the third, notwithstanding his known aversion to the house of Guise, was obliged to interpose in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty.

L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, and Bellievre, who was sent over with an extraordinary commission to the same purpose, interceded for Mary with great appearance of warmth. They employed every argument, which could either move the pity, or alarm the fears, of Elizabeth: they pleaded from justice, generosity, and humanity: they intermingled reproaches and threats.

But, to all these Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable ; and having received some private intimation of Henry's real indifference about the fate of the Scottish queen, and knowing his implacable hatred to all the family of Guise, she hoped that these loud remonstrances would be productive of no violent effects.

She paid no greater regard to the solicitations of the Scottish king, which, as they were urged with more sincerity, merited surely more attention. No sooner was James informed of the trial and condemnation of his mother, than he dispatched Sir William Keith, gentleman of his bed chamber to London ; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the indignity of the procedure.

He said he was surprised at the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgement and pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the royal blood of England ; but was still more astonished to hear that they seriously intended to execute that sentence : that he besought Elizabeth to reflect on the eternal infamy which she would draw upon her name, by staining her hands with the blood of her near relation ; a person of

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the royal dignity, and the same sex with herself : that in this unparalleled attempt, she offered an insult to all crowned heads, her own not excepted ; and by reducing princes to a level with their subjects, taught the people to despise and contemn those whom heaven had set over them : that, for his part, he must consider the injury as so flagrant and outragious, as to be altogether incapable of atonement ; nor was it possible for him thenceforth to maintain any correspondence with a person, who, without the least pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent : and that even, if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this resolution, his own honour required it of him ; nor could he ever excuse himself either to his own conscience, or to the world around him, if he did not exert his utmost efforts, in order to revenge such an unpardonable insult.

Soon after, James sent the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil, to enforce the remonstrances of Keith ; and to employ, with the queen, every expedient of argument and of menaces. Elizabeth was, at first, offended at the sharpness of these applications, and she answered in the same haughty strain to the Scottish ambassadors.

Whet.

When she afterwards considered, that this earnestness was no more than what duty demanded of James, her anger subsided ; but she still persevered in her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary. It is generally supposed, that the master of Gray, debauched by the enemies of that princess, gave secretly his advice not to spare her ; and engaged, at all events, to appease the resentment of his master.

The queen also, on many accounts, was inclined to pay little attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts which he could make in behalf of his mother. His quiet and peaceable temper, she knew, was naturally averse to violent measures : his prospect of ascending the English throne, would probably restrain him from provoking that people, by declaring a war against them ; and even, were he ever so determined to revenge the death of his mother, the factions which prevailed among his subjects, and the great influence which she herself possessed in his council, would hardly allow him to carry his threats into execution.

But though Elizabeth lent a deaf ear to the solicitations of James, and of other princes, in favour of Mary ; yet, whenever her own ministers began to urge her to proceed

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to extremity, her former doubts and scruples returned ; her humanity would not permit her to embrue her hands in the blood of her kinswoman ; and she was touched with pity for the misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity of the unhappy prisoner.

The couriers, sensible that nothing would be more agreeable to her, than to receive applications on this head, failed not to demand, with unceasing importunity, the punishment of the queen of Scots ; and to refute every objection which could be urged against that act of justice. They represented, in the most black and odious colours, all the crimes of which that princess had been guilty since her first arrival in England ; and they affirmed, that nothing but her immediate execution could ensure the life of the queen, the tranquillity of the public, the preservation of the Protestant faith, or the liberties of the kingdom.

When Elizabeth thought that as many entreaties had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she was at last resolved to execute the sentence against Mary ; but, even in this last resolution, she could not proceed without exhibiting a new scene of artifice and deceit.*

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In order to inflame the passions of the people, reports were industriously spread, that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford-Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong body of forces; that the queen of Scots had escaped from prison, and had assembled an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy formed to assassinate the queen, and set fire to the city of London; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated. A criminal attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, and that minister was obliged to quit the kingdom.

The queen, affecting to be in the utmost terrour and consternation, was seen to sit much alone, pensive and silent, and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences, expressing the difficulty and distress of her situation.

She at last sent for Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be deceived, and who, for that very reason, had lately been made secretary; and she commanded him to draw out a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she designed to have kept by her, in case any attempt

attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then desired Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the seal affixed to it.

Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, requiring him to delay, for some time, the execution of her former orders ; and when Davison came, and told her that the warrant had already passed the seals, she seemed to be somewhat surprized, and blamed him for his precipitation.

Davison, not knowing what course to pursue, communicated the whole transaction to the council ; and they advised him to dispatch the warrant by the hands of Beale, clerk to the council : if the queen should be offended, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure.

The secretary, not suspecting their intention, followed the advice ; and the warrant was transmitted to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, commanding them to see the sentence carried into immediate execution.

On the seventh day of February, the two earls arrived at Fotheringay ; and being introduced to Mary, acquainted her with the nature of their commission, and required her to prepare for death next morning.

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She was somewhat surprised, but no ways intimidated, by this intelligence. She said, with a cheerful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have proceeded to such extremity against a person who was not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But, " as such is her will," added she, "death, " which puts an end to all my miseries, " shall be to me most welcome; nor can I " esteem that soul worthy of the joys of " heaven, which cannot support the body " under the horrors of the last passage to " these blissful regions."

She then mentioned the requests contained in her letter to Elizabeth, but received no satisfactory answer. She desired, with particular earnestness, that now, in her last moments, her confessor might be suffered to attend her. Even this favour, which is usually granted to the vilest criminals, was absolutely denied her. Mention being made of Babington, she solemnly disclaimed all knowledge of his conspiracy; and the revenge of her wrongs, she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls withdrew, she ordered supper to be got ready, that she might have time to settle the few affairs which still remained

mained to her in this world, and prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and render her incapable of supporting the last scene with decency and fortitude.

She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted cheerfulness did not forsake her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which they endeavoured, in vain, to conceal from her.

Towards the end of supper she called in all her domestics, and drank to them: they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and asked her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to beg their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears accompanied this last solemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness.

The remaining part of the evening, she employed in settling her worldly affairs. She wrote her testament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her cloaths, she distributed among her servants, according to their rank and merit. She wrote a short letter to the king of France, and an-

other to the duke of Guise, full of tender but magnanimous sentiments, and recommended her soul to their prayers, and her afflicted servants to their protection.

At her usual time she went to bed, and slept calmly a few hours. Early in the morning she retired into her closet, and spent a considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock, Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered her chamber, and told her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and, bidding adieu to her weeping servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff, with a serene and undaunted aspect.

She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendour which she had long laid aside, except on a few festival days. An Agnus Dei hung by a pomander chain at her neck; her beads at her girdle; and, in her hand, she carried a crucifix of ivory.

In passing through a hall adjoining to her apartment, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction.

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Here she likewise found Andrew Melvil, her steward, who, falling on his knees before her, and wringing his hands, exclaimed with the most pitious accent : “ Ah ! “ madam ! unhappy me ! what man was “ ever before the messenger of such heavy “ tidings, as I must carry when I shall re-“ turn to my native country, and shall re-“ port that I saw my gracious queen and “ mistress beheaded in England ? ”

His tears prevented further speech ; and Mary too felt herself affected more from sympathy than from sorrow. “ Cease, my “ good servant,” said she, “ cease to la-“ ment : thou hast cause rather to rejoice “ than to mourn : for this day shalt thou “ see Mary Steuart delivered from all her “ cares, and such an end put to her tedious “ sufferings, as she has long expected.”

“ Know,” continued she, “ good ser-“ vant, that all the world is at best but “ vanity, and subject to more sorrow than “ an ocean of tears is able to bewail. But “ bear witness, that I die constant in my “ religion ; firm in my fidelity towards “ Scotland ; and unchanged in my affec-“ tion to France. Heaven forgive them “ that have long desired my death, and “ have thirsted for my blood, as the hart “ thirsteth after the water-brooks.”

" O God," added she, " thou that art
" the author of truth, and truth itself, thou
" knowest the inmost recesses of my heart ;
" thou knowest that I was ever desirous to
" preserve an entire union between Scot-
" land and England, and to prevent the
" occasion of all these fatal discords. But
" recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and
" tell him, that, notwithstanding all my
" distresses, I have done nothing prejudi-
" cial to the state and kingdom of Scot-
" land."

After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. " And so," said she, " good Melvil, farewell : once again, fare-
" well, good Melvil ; and grant the as-
" sistance of thy prayers to thy queen and
" mistress, in this her last and finishing
" conflict."

She then addressed herself to the noblemen who attended her, and begged that her servants might be well used, that they might be permitted to enjoy the legacies which she had left them, and be sent safely into their own country.

Having received a favourable answer, she preferred another petition, that they might be suffered to attend her at her death : in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and

and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her fate, and how steadily she perseveres in her attachments to her religion.

The earl of Kent refused this request, and told her, that they would be apt, by their cries and lamentations, both to distract herself and the spectators. He was likewise afraid, lest they should practice some superstition; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood; for that was the instance which this nobleman, who was equally remarkable for his zeal and his bluntness, thought proper to mention.

" My lord," said the queen of Scots, " I will give you my word (although it be but the word of a dead person) that they shall not be guilty of any of the faults which you name. But alas! poor souls, it would be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewell. And, I hope," added she, " that your mistress, being a maiden queen, would consent, in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own sex about me at my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any such strict orders, but that you might indulge me in a matter of far greater consequence, even were I a woman of much inferior rank to that which I bear."

Finding that the earl of Kent still continued inflexible, her mind, which had forsaken itself against the terrors of death, was sensibly touched by this instance of indignity, for which she was not prepared.

"I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry the seventh, and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland."

The commissioners considering how odious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed, that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made choice of four men, and two maid-servants for that purpose.

She then passed into another hall, where the scaffold was erected, which, together with a chair, the cushion, and block, was covered with black cloth; and she viewed the two executioners, and all the apparatus of death, with the most serene and undaunted countenance.

The room was crowded with spectators, and no one was so destitute of all sentiments of humanity, as not to be deeply affected, when he considered her royal dignity, reflected on the surprizing train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but invincible

ble constancy, recollected her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years and yet more by her afflictions, still shone forth in this fatal moment.

Here Beale read the warrant for her execution, to which she listened with a careless air, and like one whose attention was engrossed by thoughts of another nature. Then the dean of Peterborough began a devout discourse suitable to her present condition, and offered up prayers to heaven in her behalf; but she declared, that she could not in conscience hearken to the one, nor join with the other, and falling on her knees, repeated a Latin prayer.

When the dean had finished his devotions, she, with an audible voice, in the English tongue, recommended to God the afflicted state of the church, and prayed for prosperity to her son, and for a long life and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. She declared, that she hoped for mercy only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image she now willingly shed her blood; and lifting up, and kissing the crucifix, "O Jesus," said she, "as thy arms were extended on the cross; so with the out-stretched arms of thy mercy, receive me and forgive my sins."

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She now began, with the aid of her two women, to take off her veil and upper garments ; and one of the executioners rudely offering to assist, she gently checked him, and said, with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations : she turned about to them ; put her finger on her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them ; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief ; she laid herself down without any marks of fear or perturbation ; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner.

Such was the tragical death of Mary queen of Scots, after a life of forty-four years, one month and twenty-four days, almost nineteen years of which she had been prisoner in England. To all the charms of beauty, and the utmost elegance of external form, she added those accomplishments, which renders their impression irresistible : polite, affable, insinuating, sprightly, and capable of speaking, and of writing

ing with equal ease and dignity : sudden; however, and violent in all her attachments, because her heart was warm and unsuspicuous : impatient of contradiction ; because she had been accustomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen : no stranger, on some occasions, to dissimulation ; which in that perfidious court where she received her education, was ranked amongst the necessary arts of government : not insensible of flattery, nor unconscious of that pleasure, with which almost every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty : endued with the qualities which we love, not with the talents that we admire ; she was an amiable woman, rather than an illustrious queen.

The vivacity of her spirit, not sufficiently tempered with sound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not, at all times, under the guidance of discretion, betrayed her both into errors, and into crimes. To say that she was always unfortunate, will not account for that long and almost uninterrupted train of calamities which befel her : we must likewise add that she was often imprudent.

Her passion for Darnley was rash, headstrong, and excessive : and, though the sudden transition to the opposite extreme, was the natural consequence of her ill-requited

quited love, and of his ingratitude, insolence, and brutality ; yet neither these, nor Bothwell's artful address, and important services, can justify her attachment to that nobleman.

Even the manners of that age, rude and licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy passion ; nor can they induce us to behold, with less indignation, the tragical and infamous scene with which it was attended. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her conduct which it cannot approve ; and may, perhaps, incline the generous to impute her actions to her situation, more than to her dispositions ; and to bewail the unhappiness of the former, rather than accuse the perverseness of the latter.

Her numerous misfortunes, the length and severity of her confinement, and the cruel persecutions to which she had been subjected on account of her religion had wrought up her mind to a high degree of bigotry ; and such was the violent spirit and principles of that age, that it is less to be wondered if her zeal, her resentment, and her interest concurring, induced her to give her consent to a design, which so many gentlemen of rank and fortune, prompted only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life
of

of Elizabeth. Mary's sufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration, those tragical distresses, which poets have feigned to excite pity and compassion ; and while we survey them, we are almost apt to forget her frailties ; we think of her crimes with less abhorrence, and approve of our tears, as if they were shed for a person, who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the person of this princess, all cotemporary historians agree in ascribing to her the utmost elegance of shape, and beauty of countenance, of which the human form is susceptible. Her hair was black ; her eyes were a dark gray ; her features were formed with the nicest symmetry and proportion ; her complexion was composed of the purest red and white ; and her arms were remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour.

Her stature was of a height that rose to the majestic : she danced, she walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taste for music was just, and she both sung and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Towards the end of her life, she began to grow corpulent ; and her long confinement, and the dampness of the houses in which she had been imprisoned, brought on a rheumatism, which deprived her of the

the use of her limbs. No man, says Brantome, ever beheld her person without admiration and love ; or will read her history without sorrow.

Elizabeth had hitherto acted a most egregious farce in her conduct to the queen of Scots ; and she was now determined to perform the last scene with the same dexterity and address, which she had displayed in the former.

She was no sooner informed of the death of that princess, than she affected the utmost surprize and indignation. Her colour changed, her speech faltered and failed her ; and, for a long time, her sorrow was so deep, that she could not express it, but stood fixed, like a statue, in silence and mute astonishment. After her grief could find vent, it burst out in loud wailings and lamentations ; she put herself into deep mourning for this unhappy event ; and she was seen perpetually drowned in tears, and attended only by her maids and women.

None of her ministers or counsellors dared to come near her ; or if they presumed to take such a liberty, she chased them from her, with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment : they had all been guilty of a most heinous crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kins-

kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose and resolution, with which they were sufficiently acquainted.

When her grief was so much abated as to leave room for thought and reflection, she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and sent it by the hands of Sir Robert Cary, son to lord Hunsdon.

She there told him, that she wished he knew, but not felt, the inexpressible anguish of mind she experienced, on account of that deplorable accident, which, without her knowledge or concurrence, had happened in England: that as her hand trembled, when she endeavoured to write it, she found herself obliged to entrust the relation of it to the messenger, her kinsman; who would likewise acquaint his majesty with every circumstance, which attended this unforeseen misfortune: that she appealed to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also glad to find, that there were many persons in her own court, who could bear witness to the truth of her assertion: that she abhorred hypocrisy and dissimulation, esteemed nothing more worthy of a prince than plain and open dealing, and could never surely be reckoned so base and mean-spirited as that, if she really had given orders for

this fatal execution, she could, on any account, be induced to deny it : that though she was convinced of the justice of the sentence, she was resolved from her clemency never to carry it into execution ; and could not but resent the presumption of those, who, on this occasion, had disappointed her intentions ; and that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or had a more anxious concern for his interest, she hoped, he would regard every one as his enemy, who endeavoured to make the present incident the occasion of a war between the two nations.

The better to support her dissimulation, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded at this sudden arrest ; and conscious of the danger of engaging in a contest with his sovereign, he readily acknowledged his error, and suffered himself to be railed at by those very counsellors, by whose permission he had been induced to incur the guilt, and from whom he had received the most solemn promises of countenance and protection.

He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of

of ten thousand pounds. He continued a long time in custody; and was obliged to pay every farthing of the fine, though, in the end, it reduced him to absolute beggary. All the favour which he could procure from the queen, was a temporary supply of some trifling sums of money, in order to keep him from perishing with hunger.

He wrote a private apology to his friend, Walsingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scottish ambassadors, he said, had been interceding with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure, she ordered him, of her own accord, to bring her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it without hesitation, and desired it might be sealed with the great seal of England.

She appeared in such good humour on this occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, " Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick; though, I am afraid, he will die with grief, when he hears it." She added, that, though she had deferred the execution of the sentence, lest she should incur the imputation of malice or of cruelty, she was all along convinced that it was absolutely necessary.

In the same conversation, she inveighed against Drury and Paulet, for not having eased her of this trouble by taking off Mary by a private death; and she expressed her desire, that Walsingham would endeavour to persuade them to a compliance with that proposal. She was so bent on this purpose, that, some time after, she enquired of Davison whether he had received any letter from Paulet with regard to the service he was expected to perform. Davison shewed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman flatly refused to do any thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice.

The queen burst into a violent passion, called him a precise and dainty fellow, who would promise much, but perform nothing, and accused both him and Drury of perjury, in having taken the oath of association, and yet refusing to assist her in the present emergency. "But others," said she, "will be found less scrupulous."

Davison adds, that nothing but the advice and exhortation of the whole council could have induced him to send off the warrant. He was well aware of his danger, and remembered that the queen, after she had ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had attempted in like manner,

manner, to throw all the blame of that measure upon lord Burleigh.

Elizabeth's hypocrisy was so gross, that it could impose on no body, who was not previously resolved to be deceived ; but as James's concern for his mother was more cordial and sincere, he expressed the highest rage and indignation, and refused to admit Cary into his presence.

He recalled his ambassadors from England ; and seemed to breath nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland, being convoked, entered warmly into the quarrel, and declared their readiness to spend their lives and fortunes in revenging his mother's death, and supporting his title to the crown of England.

Many of his nobility advised him to take arms immediately : lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king, clad in complete armour, and said, that that was the proper mourning for the queen.

The Catholics embraced this opportunity of exhorting James to contract an alliance with the king of Spain, to maintain his pretensions to the crown of England by force of arms, and to prevent the danger, which, from the example of his mother, he might infer, would certainly, if Elizabeth's power

prevailed, involve both himself and his kingdom in inevitable ruin.

The queen was sensible of the danger to which she was exposed ; and after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and indignation, she employd her emissaries to appease him, and to persuade him, by every motive of hope and fear, to live in a good understanding with England.

Walsingham wrote a very sensible letter to the same purpose, and transmitted it to lord Thirlstone the Scottish secretary of state : he represented the certain destruction, which James would draw upon himself, if, with the forces of Scotland alone, he should venture to attack a kingdom so far superior in power ; that the history of former ages, as well as his mother's sad experience, might convince him that nothing could be more deceitful and precarious, than dependence on foreign aid ; that the king of France would never wish to see the British dominions united under one monarch, nor contribute to invest a prince so nearly allied to the house of Guise, with such formidable power ; that Philip might be a more active ally, but would certainly prove a more dangerous one, and, under pretence of assisting him, would assert his own title to the English crown, to which he already began to make open pretensions ; that

that the same statute, on which the sentence of death against his mother had been founded, would justify his exclusion from the throne ; that the English, naturally averse to the dominion of strangers, would not fail, if provoked by hostilities, to give it that construction ; that Elizabeth was disposed to atone for the injuries which the mother had suffered, by her tenderness and affection towards the son ; and that, by embarking in a war which might be attended with the most fatal consequences, he would deprive himself of a noble inheritance, which, by cultivating her friendship, he might obtain with the greatest ease and facility.

These representations, joined to the consciousness of his own weakness, to the scantiness of his revenue, to the factious spirit of some of the nobles, to the dubious fidelity of others, and to the influence of that party which was entirely at Elizabeth's devotion, convinced James, that a war with England, however just and honourable, would, in the present circumstances, be altogether rash and imprudent. All these considerations induced him to suppress his resentment ; to appear satisfied with the punishment inflicted on Davison ; and to preserve, at least, the semblance of friendship with the English court.

While

While Elizabeth thus secured herself against all attempts on the side of Scotland, she was not forgetful of her foreign concerns. Understanding that Philip, provoked at the many injuries and insults which he had lately received from the English, was secretly equipping a great navy to invade her dominions; she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to plunder his coast, and to destroy his shipping.

Drake commanded four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six gallies, with which the London merchants, in hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned, from two Dutch ships which he met in his passage, that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada; he directed his course to the former harbour, and, with equal courage and success, made an attack on the enemy.

He obliged six gallies, which endeavoured to oppose his entrance, to take shelter under the forts; he sunk about an hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and naval stores; and he burnt a great ship of the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for St. Vincent, and took by storm the castle

castle situated on that promontory, with three other places of importance.

He next bombarded Lisbon ; but hearing that the merchants, who had embarked in this enterprize merely with a view of profit, were displeased with these military atchievements, he set sail for the Tercera islands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, which was expected in these quarters. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize ; and in this short expedition, where the public bore so small a share, the adventurers were encouraged to undertake new enterprizes, the English seamen learned to despise the unwieldy ships of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were ruined, the projected expedition against England was defeated for one year, and the queen had thereby leisure to take more effectual measures for repelling that formidable invasion.

About the same time, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devonshire, having ruined his estate by living at court, and resolving to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, equipped three ships at Plymouth, one of an hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty ; and, with these small vessels, he ventured to penetrate into the South-Seas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards.

He

He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he returned to England, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clad in silk, his sails were of damask, his topmast cloth of gold; and his prizes were reckoned the richest that ever had been brought into England.

The English, during this campaign, were not so successful in their land enterprizes. The important place of Deventer had been committed by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a Catholic, was no sooner informed of the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, than he began to suspect, that every one of his religion, would be thenceforth treated with distrust in England. He engaged in a secret correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and prevailed on the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service.

His example was followed by Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen; and the Hollanders, formerly dissatisfied with Leicester, and jealous of the English, began to inveigh, with great vehemence,

hemence, against the weakness, if not the treachery, of his administration.

Soon after, he went over himself to the Low-Countries ; but his conduct was, by no means, calculated to appease their murmurs, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The prince, lately created by the pope duke of Parma, having invested Sluys, he endeavoured to raise the siege, first by sea, and then by land ; but miscarried in both attempts : and as he imputed his bad success to the ill behaviour of the Dutch, they were equally free in condemning his conduct.

The rupture between them became more violent every day : they despised his authority, thwarted his measures, and neglected his councils ; while he endeavoured, by a haughty and imperious behaviour, to regain that influence which he had lost by his own folly and imprudence. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to invade their liberties ; and the jealousy entertained against him, began to be directed towards the queen herself.

That princess had made some proposals for a peace with Spain : conferences had been held on the subject at Bourbourg, a village near Gravelines ; and though the two courts had no other view in this negotiation

gociation than to deceive each other, and to procure time for recruiting their forces, the Dutch, who were firmly resolved never more to submit to the Spanish yoke, became apprehensive, lest their liberty should be sacrificed to the political interests of England.

But the queen, who considered the independence of the States as intimately connected with her own safety, was determined to give them entire satisfaction; and she accordingly recalled the earl of Leicester, and commanded him to resign his government.

Maurice, son to the prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was chosen by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine lord Willoughby, was named by the Queen commander of the English forces.

The measures of these two generals were greatly disturbed by the malignity of Leicester, who had left a party behind him, and who still endeavoured, by means of his emissaries, to defeat all the operations of the States. Elizabeth was no sooner informed of these disorders, than she took care to rectify them, and she compelled all the partizans of England to submit to the authority of prince Maurice.

But

But though her good sense so far prevailed over her attachment to Leicester, she could never be fully convinced of his vices and imprudence : by his artful submissions, he soon regained his former influence ; and the lord Buckhurst, who accused him of misconduct in Holland, lost for some time the confidence of his sovereign, and was even committed to custody.

The attention of the English was, soon after, engrossed by objects of a more important, and alarming nature.*

The king of Spain, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the injuries, which he had lately received from Elizabeth, had long entertained a secret grudge and animosity against that princess. His ambition also and the hopes of enlarging his dominions were greatly augmented by the prosperous situation of his affairs ; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the Indian commerce and settlements, and the annual importation of vast treasures for America.

The point on which he founded his highest glory, was to support orthodoxy and extirpate heresy ; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth was the chief bul-

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* A. D. 1588.

wark of the Protestants, he imagined, that, if he could subdue that princeſ, he ſhould be able to acquire the immortal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion.

Above all, his indignation againſt his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, prompted him to attack the English, who had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their ſituation, were enabled to give the Hollanderſ ſuch effectual assistance, that he could never expect to reduce theſe rebels, while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken.

To conquer England, therefore, ſeemed a neceſſary preparative to the reduction of the Netherlands; and notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, the former was deemed, in itſelf, as a more important, ſo a more easy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low-Countries, and was more open to invasions from that quarter: after any enemy had got footing in the country, it was neither fortified by art nor nature; the inhabitants, during a long and profound tranquillity, had almost forgot the uſe of arms; and the Catholics, who were very numerous, would be ready to join any invader, who ſhould deliver them from those

those hardships under which they at present laboured, and revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed their affections.

Animated by these hopes, Philip resolved to engage in this hazardous enterprize; and though the duke of Parma, when consulted, disapproved of the attempt, at least, represented the necessity of previously getting possession of some sea-port town in the Netherlands, which might serve as a retreat to the Spanish navy, it was determined by the Catholic monarch, to proceed immediately to the execution of his ambitious project.

He had, for some time, been secretly making preparations; but as soon as his purpose was fully fixed, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the fleet; and by his direction were the naval equipments conducted.

In all the ports of Sicily, of Naples, of Spain and Portugal, artizans were employed in building ships of uncommon size and strength; naval stores were pur-

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chased at a prodigious expence ; provisions collected ; armies raised and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain ; and plans formed for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before been seen in Europe.

The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Forces from all quarters were daily arriving to join the duke of Parma : Capizuchi and Spinelli brought forces from Italy : the marquis of Borgout, a prince of the house of Austria, levied troops in Germany : the Walloon and Burgundian regiments were compleat-ed or augmented : the Spanish infantry was furnished with recruits : and an army of thirty-four thousand men was collected in the Netherlands, and kept in readiness to be transported into England.

The duke of Parma engaged all the carpenters he could procure either in Flanders, or in Lower-Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic ; and he built at Dunkirk, and Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of flat-bottomed vessels for the conveyance of his infantry and cavalry into England.

The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were eager to partake in the glory of this important enterprize.

Don

Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Vespasian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Pastrana, hastened to join the army commanded by the duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers, most of them men of family and fortune, offered to serve as private soldiers.

No doubt was entertained, but such a mighty armament, conducted by officers of such distinguished abilities, must, in the end, be crowned with success: and the Spaniards, proud of their power, and elevated with the vain hopes of victory, had already denominated their navy the Invincible Armada.

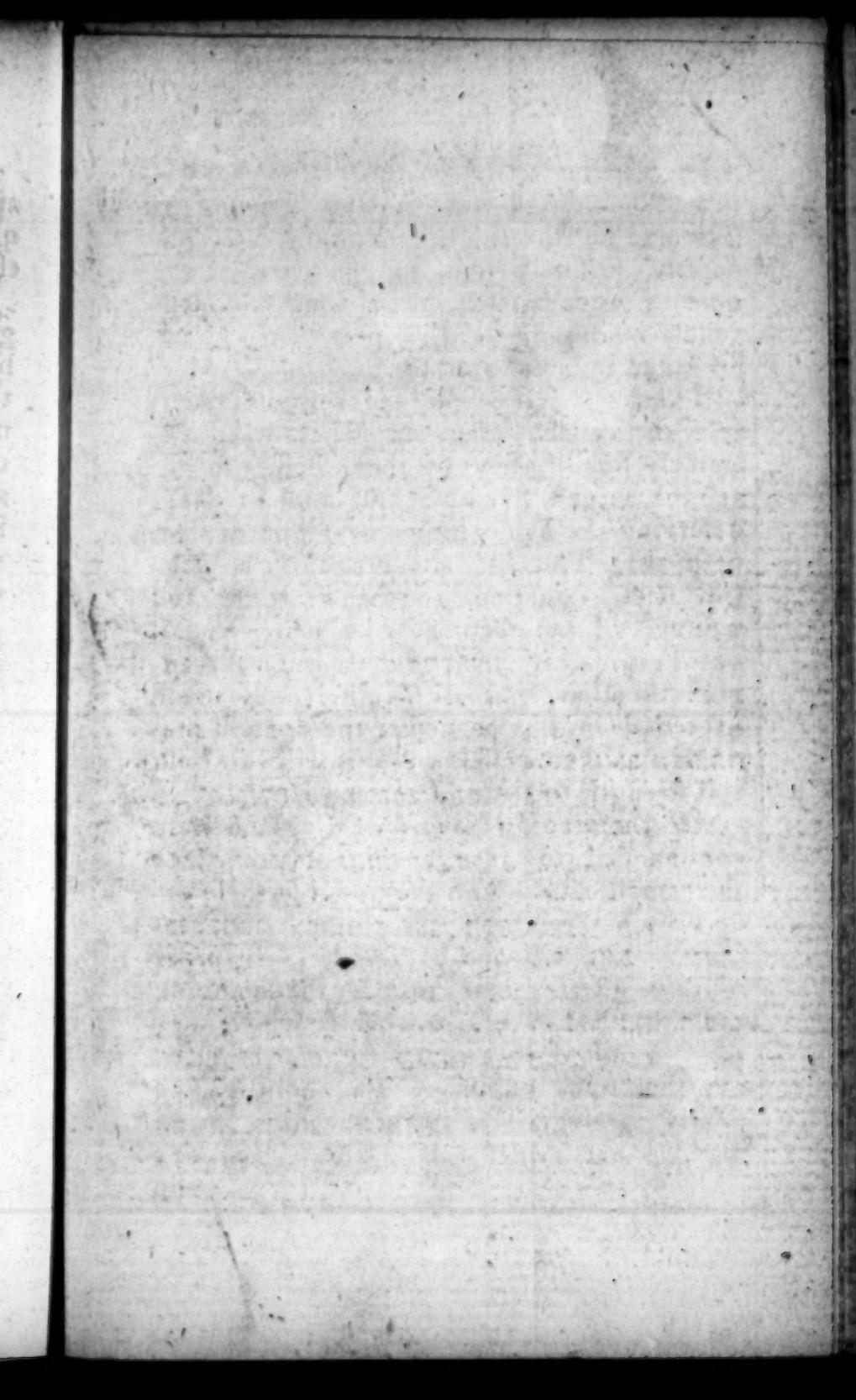
These extraordinary preparations could not fail to excite the fears and apprehensions of the neighbouring states; and notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their artful pretences, that they meant to employ this force in the Indies, it was generally supposed, that they intended to make a descent upon England.

The queen was aware of the impending danger; and she began to prepare for the defence of her dominions, with equal fortitude and magnanimity. Her force seemed very unequal to oppose so powerful an enemy. All the seamen of England amounted at that time to no more than four-

teen thousand two hundred and ninety-five. The size of the English shipping was, generally, so small, that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants, which exceeded four hundred tons.

The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight vessels, many of which were extremely small; few of them being so big as our largest frigates, and most of them deserving the name rather of pinnaces than of ships. The chief advantage of the English fleet, consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all weathers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in bulk and strength to those of that nation.

All the trading towns of England were commanded to furnish ships to reinforce this small navy; and they obeyed these orders with the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity. The citizens of London, in order to demonstrate their zeal in the common cause, instead of fifteen vessels, which they were required to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The nobility and gentry provided forty-three ships, well manned and armed, at their own expence; and



HOWARD Lord High **ADMIRAL.**



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were readily granted by the merchants.

Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and experience, was lord-high-admiral, and assumed the command of the navy : Drake, Hawkins, Forbisher, the most celebrated seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was entrusted to lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset ; and rode off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land-forces of England, compared with those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power : they exceeded the enemy in point of number, but were greatly inferior in discipline and experience.

An army of twenty thousand men was posted in different bodies along the South coast, and they were strictly enjoined, that, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, they should retire backwards, waste the country around, and wait for a re-inforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they ventured to attack the enemy.

A body

A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was encamped at Tilbury, in order to protect the capital. The main army, amounting to thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and headed by lord Hunsdon, was appointed as a guard to the queen's person; and was directed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear.

While Elizabeth took these prudent measures for the defence of her kingdom, she was careful to secure the friendship, and obtain the assistance of all the neighbouring states. She dispatched Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland, and exhorted the king to persevere in his alliance with her, and to consider the danger, which, at present threatened his sovereignty no less than her own, from the unbounded ambition of the Spanish tyrant.

The ambassador found James sufficiently inclined to follow her advice, and he even kept himself in readiness to march with the whole force of his kingdom to the assistance of Elizabeth. Her interest with the king of Denmark, and the tye of their common religion, induced that prince, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships which Philip had purchased or hired in

in the Danish harbours. The Hanse-towns, though at that time somewhat disgusted with the English, were prompted by the same motives, to delay so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of the expedition.

All the Protestants in Europe considered this enterprize as the critical event which must determine for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their weakness or distance, to afford Elizabeth any real assistance, they kept their eyes invariably fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she met that dreadful tempest, which was every moment approaching towards her.

The queen likewise knew, that one of the firmest supports of her throne depended on the ardent zeal of the people for the Protestant religion, and the violent antipathy which they entertained against Popery; and she did not fail, on the present occasion, to avail herself of this circumstance.

The English were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: all the barbarities of Mary's reign were imputed to the councils of that bigotted and

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imperious nation; the bloody massacres in the Indies, the shocking executions in the Low-Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the Inquisition, were represented in the most odious and hateful colours: a list and description was published, and pictures dispersed, of the several instruments of torture, with which, it was alledged, the Spanish Armada was provided: and every motive and argument was employed to excite the people to the defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

But while the queen, in this critical conjuncture, inflamed the animosity of the nation against Popery, she treated the partizans of that sect with the greatest lenity and moderation.

Though she knew, that Sixtus Quintus, the present pope, had issued a new bull of excommunication against her, deprived her of her throne, absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, published a crusade against England, and granted a plenary indulgence to every person embarked in the present expedition; she would not believe that all her Catholic subjects could be so infatuated, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the freedom and independency of their native country.

She

She declined all violent counsels, by which she was prompted to seek pretexts for dispatching the leaders of that party : she would not even deprive any considerable number of them of their liberty : and the Catholics, in gratitude for this good usage, generally expressed the warmest zeal for the public service.

Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, engaged as volunteers in the fleet or army : some fitted out ships at their own expence, and bestowed the command of them upon Protestants : others endeavoured to animate their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country : and every rank of men, forgetting for the present all party distinctions, seemed to prepare themselves, with order as well as vigour, to oppose the invasion of the enemy.

The more to arouse the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury ; and addressed the soldiers in the following terms : “ My loving people.” said she, “ we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but I assure you, I do not

“ not desire to live to distrust my faithful
“ and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I
“ have always so behaved myself, that, un-
“ der God, I have placed my chief strength
“ and safeguard in the loyal hearts and
“ good-will of my subjects. And, there-
“ fore, I am come amongst you at this
“ time, not as for my recreation or sport,
“ but, being resolved, in the midst and
“ heat of the battle, to live or die amongst
“ you all; to lay down, for my God, and
“ for my kingdom, and for my people,
“ my honour and my blood, even in the
“ dust. I know I have but the body of
“ a weak and feeble woman, but I have
“ the heart of a king, and of a king of
“ England too; and think foul scorn, that
“ Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Eu-
“ rope, should dare to invade the bor-
“ ders of my realm: to which, rather
“ than any dishonour shall grow by me, I
“ myself will take up arms; I myself will
“ be your general, your judge, and the
“ rewarder of every one of your virtues in
“ the field. I know already, by your for-
“ wardness, that you have deserved rewards
“ and crowns; and we do assure you, on
“ the word of a prince, they shall be duly
“ paid you. In the mean time, my lieute-
“ nant-general shall be in my stead; than
“ whom

" whom never prince commanded more
" noble and worthy subject ; not doubting,
" but, by your obedience to my general,
" by your concord in the camp, and your
" valour in the field, we shall shortly have
" a famous victory over those enemies of
" my God, of my kingdom, and of my
" people."

This bold and spirited harangue, had a wonderful effect on the minds of the soldiers : an attachment to her person became a species of enthusiasm among them : and they asked one another, Whether it were possible, that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause, could exert less courage than appeared in the female sex, or could ever be deterred, by any dangers, from defending, to the last, their brave and heroic princess.

The Spanish Armada was ready for sea in the beginning of May ; but the moment it was going to weigh anchor, the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a violent fever, of which he soon after died ; and, at the very same time, the vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accident, was carried off by the same distemper. The king bestowed the command of the fleet upon the duke of Medina Sidonia, the nobleman of the

greatest family in Spain, but unexperienced in action, and totally ignorant of naval affairs : Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral.

This event, besides the loss of so great an officer as Santa Croce, delayed the sailing of the Armada, and afforded the English more time to prepare for their defence. At last, the fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, set sail from Lisbon ; but next day was encountered by a violent storm, which dispersed the ships, sunk some of the smaller, and obliged the rest to take shelter in the Groyne, where they waited till they should be repaired.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of this incident, than she concluded, that the design of an invasion was defeated for this summer ; and as she was always desirous of saving money, she ordered Walsingham to write to the admiral, commanding him to lay up some of the largest ships, and disband the seamen : but lord Effingham, who was not so sanguine in his hopes, ventured to disobey these orders, and begged he might be permitted to retain the whole fleet in service, though he should be obliged to defray the expence out of his own fortune.

Taking

Taking advantage of a north wind, he sailed towards the coast of Spain, with a view of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind shifting to the south, he began to be afraid, lest they should set sail, and, by passing him at sea, invade England during his absence. He therefore returned with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and rode at anchor in that harbour.

Meanwhile, the Armada had repaired all her damages; and, with fresh hopes, and redoubled ardour, set out again to sea, in prosecution of her enterprize.

The fleet consisted of an hundred and thirty vessels, of which near an hundred were galleons, and were of a larger size than any which had ever before been seen in Europe. It had on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass cannon. It was victualled for six months; and was attended with twenty lesser ships, named caravals, and ten falves with six oars a-piece.

The scheme formed by the king of Spain, was, that the Armada should sail to

the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and, having chased away all the English or Flemish vessels which might obstruct their passage (for it was never imagined they would presume to make any opposition), should join themselves, with the duke of Parma, should thence direct their course to the Thames, and, having debarked the whole Spanish army, should thus accomplish, at one blow, the entire conquest of England.

In prosecution of this plan, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that, in sailing through the Channel, he should keep as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should, by this artifice, elude the vigilance of the English fleet; and, fixing his attention on the main enterprize, should neglect all smaller successes, which might occasion an impediment, or even interpose a delay, to the acquisition of a kingdom.

After the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who told them that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the storm which had dispersed the Armada, had returned to Plymouth, and, no longer apprehending an invasion this season, had laid up his ships, and disbanded the greatest part of his sailors.

En-

Encouraged by this false intelligence, the duke of Medina imagined, that he might easily attack and destroy the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted, by the prospect of so important an enterprize, to violate his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth: a resolution which proved the safety of England.

The Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, about sun-set; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with a design of returning next morning, and engaging the English navy. They were descried by Fleming, a Scottish pyrate, who was roving in these seas, and who immediately hastened to Plymouth, to notify their approach to the English admiral: another lucky incident, which contributed greatly to the safety of England.

Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he observed the Spanish Armada advancing full sail towards him, drawn up in the form of a half-moon, and extending the space of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. He gave strict orders to his officers not to come to a close engagement with the Spaniards, where the size of the ships, he imagined, and the numbers of soldiers,

would be a disadvantage to the English ; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to watch the opportunities which winds, currents, or various chances might afford, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy.

Nor was it long before his expectations were fully answered. A great ship of Biscay, which carried a considerable part of the Spanish money, was set on fire by accident ; and, while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada : the great galleon of Andaluzia was retarded by the springing of her masts : and both these vessels, after a faint resistance, were taken by Sir Francis Drake.

As the Armada proceeded up the Channel, the English hung upon their rear, and still annoyed them with insults and skirmishes. Each trial diminished the confidence of the Spaniards, and increased the courage of the English ; and the latter soon found, that, even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no real advantage. Their bulk rendered them a broader mark to the bullets of the enemy ; while the shot of their cannon, which were placed too high, flew over the heads of the English, without doing any execution.

The

The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels, to join the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Carr, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after this reinforcement, amounted to an hundred and forty sail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place, in hopes that the duke of Parma, who had been informed of their arrival, would put to sea, and unite his forces with theirs.

This junction, however, was happily prevented by an excellent stratagem, which the English admiral put in practice. He took eight of his smaller vessels, and filling them with all kinds of combustible materials, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the Armada.

The Spaniards, thinking they were fire-ships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much mischief at Antwerp, immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the utmost hurry

hurry and precipitation. The English attacked them next morning, while they were in confusion ; and, besides disabling a great number of other ships, they took or sunk about twelve of the enemy.

By this time it was evident that the design, for which these great preparations had been made by the Spaniards, was entirely defeated. The vessels, provided by the duke of Parma, were made for transport, not for fighting ; and that general, when pressed to leave the harbour, absolutely refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent danger as it must run ; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but even seemed to triumph over the enemy.

The Spanish admiral found, in many encounters, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had only destroyed one small vessel of the English ; and he began to apprehend, that, by continuing so unequal a combat, he should involve the remainder in utter ruin and destruction.

He therefore resolved to return homewards ; but, as the winds were contrary in his passage through the Channel, he proposed to sail northwards, and making the compass of the whole island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean.

The

The English fleet pursued him during some time ; and, had not their ammunition fallen short, through the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had compelled the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The duke of Medina had once taken a resolution of that nature, but was diverted from it by the remonstrances of his confessor.

This conclusion of the enterprize would have been more advantageous to the English ; but the event proved equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada, after it had passed the Orkneys ; the ships had already lost their anchors, and were forced to keep to sea : the mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and suffered their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were dashed in pieces.

Not a half of the fleet returned to Spain ; and the sailors, as well soldiers, who survived, were so exhausted with labour and fatigue, and so discouraged by their late discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with the most terrible accounts of the invincible courage of the English nation, and the tempestuous

tuous violence of that ocean which surrounds their island.*

Such was the wretched and disgraceful issue of an enterprize, which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenues and strength of Spain, which had filled the Catholics with the most sanguine hopes, and alarmed the Protestants with the most terrible apprehensions. Philip,

who

* There were two medals struck on this occasion. The device of the one was, a fleet flying under full sail, with this inscription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit.* The other, which was designed more particularly for the honour of the queen, represented fire-ships, and a fleet all in the utmost hurry and confusion, with this motto, *Dux Fama Fugi.* Even the wits at Rome would not let slip such a favourable opportunity of cutting their jokes on the holy father. They affixed to the statue of Pasquin the following advertisement :
“ Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largiturum
“ esse de plenitudine potestatis suæ, si quis certò sibi
“ indicaverit, quid sit factum de classe Hispanica ;
“ quod abierit : in coelumne sublata ; an ad tartara de-
“ trusa : vel in aere alicubi pendeat ; an in aliquo
“ mari fluctuet.” i. e. “ That the pope, from the
“ inexhaustible plenitude of his power, would grant
“ indulgencies for a thousand years to any one, who
“ should bring him certain intelligence what was be-
“ come of the Spanish fleet ; whether it was gone :
“ whether it was snatched up to heaven ; or thrust
“ down to hell : whether it was hanging any where
“ in the air, or was driving in any part of the ocean,”
Strype's Annal. tom. iii. p. 530.

who was a slave to his passions, but had an entire command over his features, was no sooner informed of the mortifying event which ruined all his schemes of ambition, than he fell on his knees, and offered up his grateful acknowledgments to heaven, that the calamity was not greater.

The Popish priests, who had often blest this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory obtained over the Catholic monarch, by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper : but they at last discovered, that all the misfortunes of the Spaniards, were owing to their suffering the infidel Moors to live among them.

Soon after the dispersion of the Spanish Armada, died the earl of Leicester, the great, but unworthy, favourite of Elizabeth. Her affection to him continued to the last. He was equally destitute of personal bravery and military conduct : yet she entrusted him with the command of her armies in the late critical conjuncture : an instance of partiality, which might have proved the occasion of her utter ruin, had the duke of Parma been able to debark his troops in England.

She had even given orders for drawing a commission, appointing him her lieutenant in

in the kingdoms of England and Ireland ; but Burleigh and Hatton represented the danger of investing any subject with such unlimited authority, and prevented the execution of that design. No wonder, that a conduct, so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, should give ground to surmize, that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But the queen's affection for Leicester, seemed to terminate with his death : she caused his goods to be exposed to public sale, in order to reimburse herself for the money she had lent him, and her usual œconomy was observed to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceased.

In the begining of the ensuing year* Elizabeth convoked a new parliament, and she obtained from them a supply of two subsidies, and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first time that subsidies were doubled in one supply ; and this uncommon concession was probably owing to the joy of the late success and the general sense of the queen's necessities.

Some of the commons made a motion for the restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, and rectifying the abuses of purveyance.

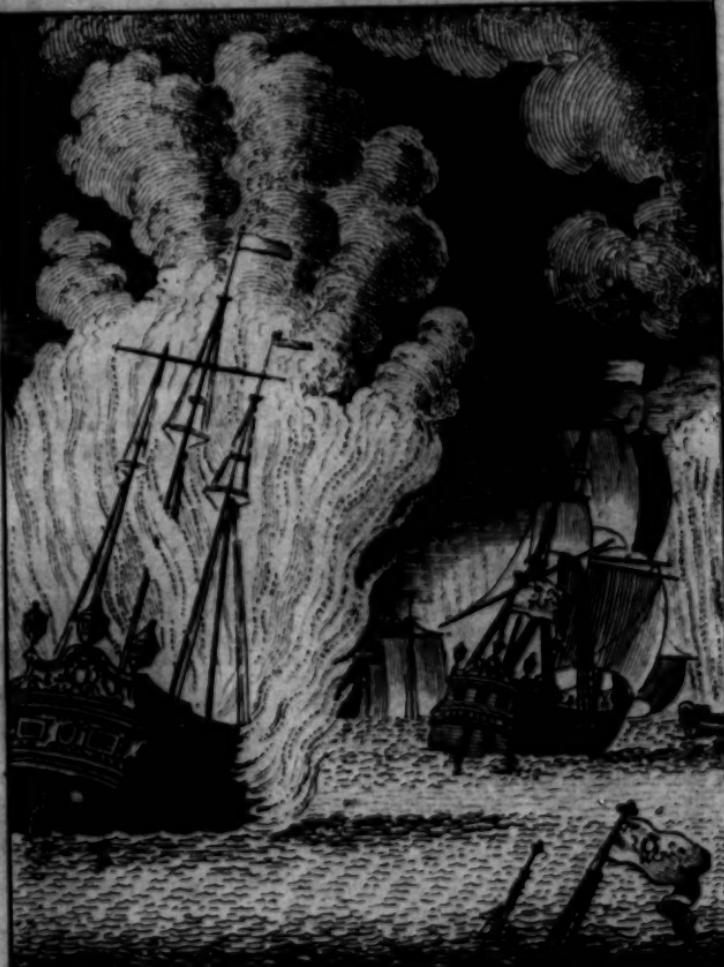
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*Q^{ueen} Elizabeth going to St Paul's to return thanks
to God, for the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.*



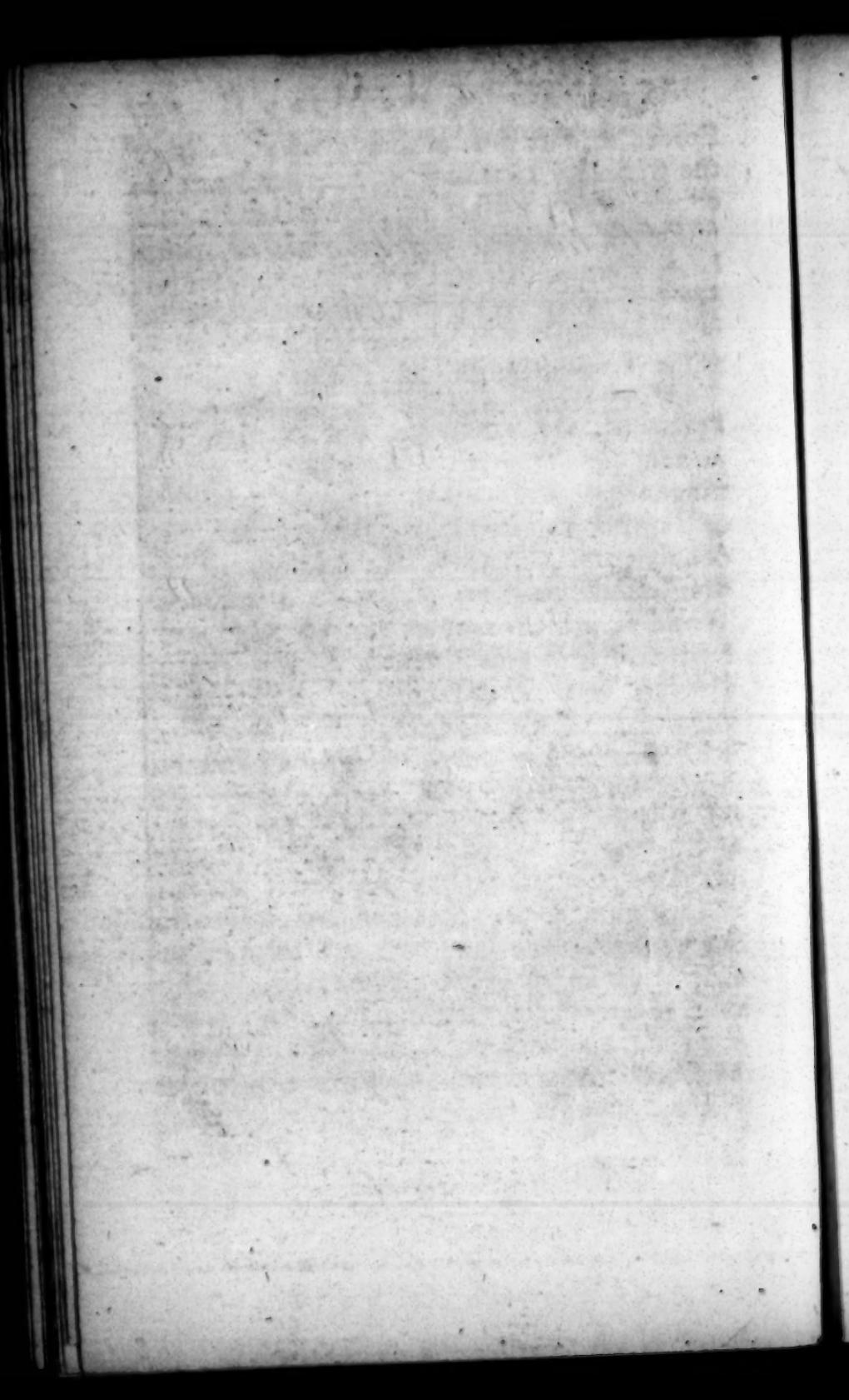
T. Hulme sc.
Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

The Destruction of y^e Spanish Armada



J. Hullett sculp.

Engrav'd for Kidder's History of England



purveyance.* but Elizabeth, who considered both these as essential parts of her prerogative, of which she was extremely tenacious, strictly prohibited them from touching upon things which did not belong to their cognizance.

The defeat of the Armada had inspired the nation, with a kind of enthusiastic passion

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* The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown were empowered to take, at pleasure, provisions for the household, from all the neighbouring counties; and the use of carts and carriages; and the price of these was always fixed and stated. The payment of the money was often distant and uncertain; and the rates were always greatly below the market-price: so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always considered as an intolerable grievance, and, being arbitrary and casual, was subject to great abuses.

There is a story of a carter, relating to this subject, which it may be worth while to mention. "A carter had been three times at Windsor, with his cart, to carry away, upon summons of a remove, some part of the stuff of her majesty's wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once, twice, and a third time, and was at last informed, by the officers of the wardrobe, that the remove did not hold, the carter, clapping his hand on his thigh, said, *Now I see that the queen is a woman as well as my wife;* which words being overheard by her majesty, who then stood at the window, she said, *What a villain is this?* and so sent him three angels to stop his mouth." *Birch's Mem.* Vol. I, p. 155.

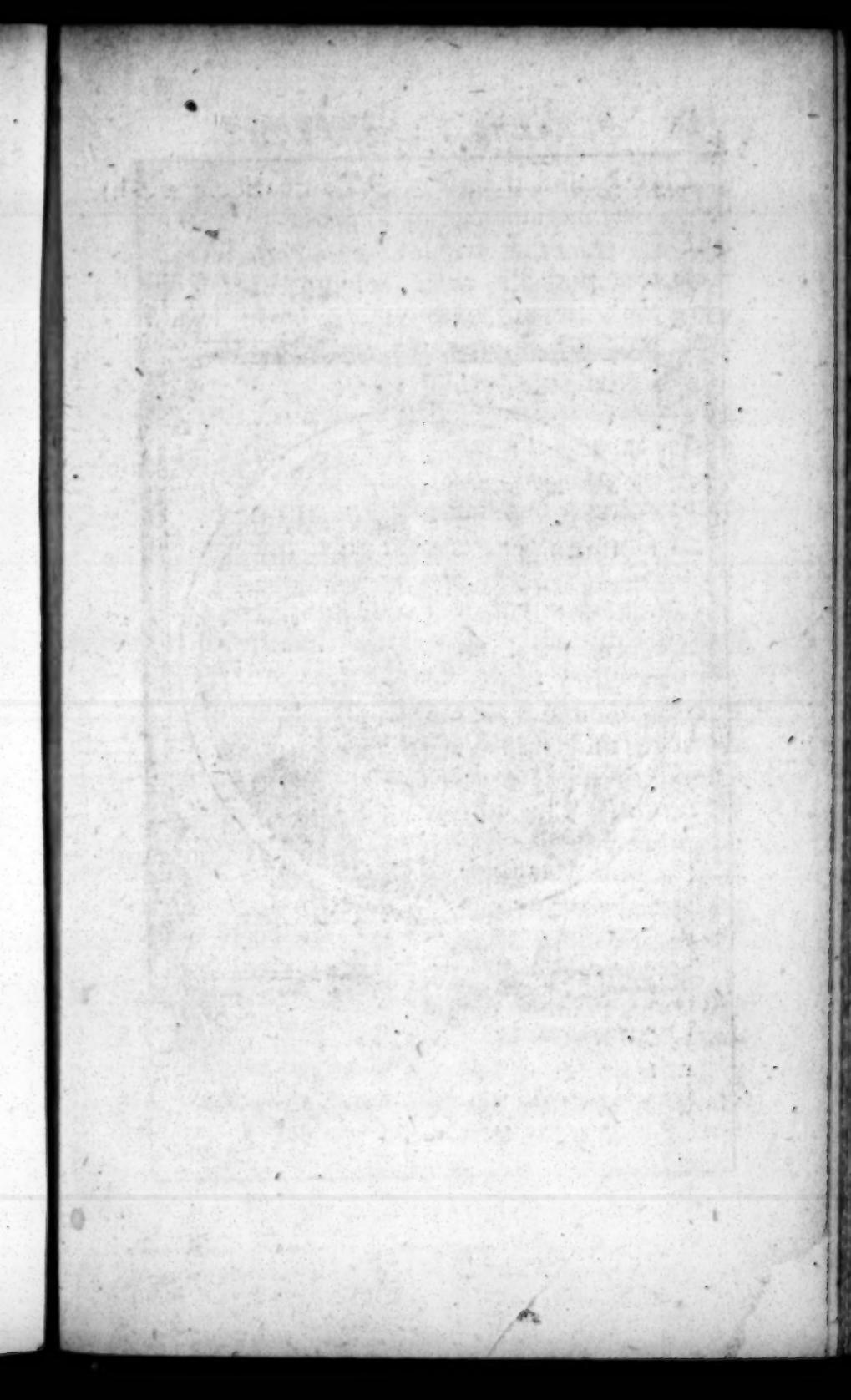
for enterprizes against Spain ; and nothing seemed now impossible to be accomplished by the heroic valour and good fortune of the English.

Don Antonio, prior of Crato, was a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, who, trusting to the irreconcileable hatred which his countrymen bore the Castilians, had trumped up a claim to the crown, and flying first to France, and thence to England, had been encouraged, both by Henry and Elizabeth, to assert his pretensions.

A resolution was taken by the people, not the court, of England, to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio : Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, were the leaders in this romantic enterprize : about twenty thousand volunteers engaged in the service : and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the sole charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality hindered her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expence ; and she only permitted six of her ships to attend the expedition.

The adventurers discovered more spirit and bravery in undertaking this enterprize, than prudence or foresight in concerting their measures. Their small stock of money would not allow them to purchase either

pre-



DEVEREUX Earl of ESSEX



Engraved for Riddell's History of England.

provisions or ammunition sufficient for the accomplishment of such a difficult project : they had not even vessels to contain the numerous volunteers, who flocked to them from all quarters ; and they were obliged to seize, by force, some ships of the Hanse-towns, which they met with at sea : an expedient, which, though it freed them from the inconvenience of want of room for their men, did not remedy the deficiency of their provisions.

Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is generally supposed, that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceless state of the kingdom, would have procured them an easy conquest : but, hearing that great preparations were making at the Groyne, for an invasion of England, they were tempted to go thither, and destroy this new armament of Spain.

They forced their way into the harbour ; burned some ships, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain ; they attacked the Groyne, and took the lower town, which they plundered ; and would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had not their ammunition and provisions begun to fail them.

Here they were joined by the earl of Essex, a young nobleman of great spirit

and capacity, who, fired with the love of military glory, had secretly, unknown to Elizabeth, eloped from England ; and it was then resolved, by common consent, to direct their course immediately for Portugal, the main object of the enterprize.

The land troops were debarked at Paniche, a sea-port town, about twelve leagues from Lisbon ; and Norris led them to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river, and assault the city with their united forces. By this time, the Spaniards had got leisure to prepare for the defence of the kingdom. The garrison of Lisbon was reinforced : the Portuguese were stript of their arms : all suspected persons were committed to prison : and thus, tho' the inhabitants were warmly attached to the cause of Don Antonio, none of them dared to declare openly in favour of the invaders.

The English, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which were stored with all sorts of riches ; but as they were desirous of engaging the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they carefully observed a strict discipline, and totally abstained from all kind of plunder.

Meanwhile, they found that their provisions and ammunition were wholly exhausted ; they had not a single cannon to batter the walls ; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses, which guarded the river ; there was no appearance of an insurrection in favour of Antonio ; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had invaded the army : so that it was found necessary to re-imbarke their troops without delay.

This they did unmolested by the enemy ; and finding, at the mouth of the river, sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prize ; though they belonged to the Hanse-towns, a neutral power. They then bent their course towards Viga, which they took and pillaged ; and, having ravaged the country around, they set sail, and arrived safely in England.

More than one half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword ; and England derived much more glory than advantage from this extraordinary expedition. It is computed, that, of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked on board this fleet, no more than three hundred and fifty returned to their native country.

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward-bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all fitted out at his own expence, except one ship of war, which he had obtained from the queen. That nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some provisions ; an act of generosity which preserved the lives of many of Drake's men ; but which proved fatal to his own troops in the sequel.

Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several of the enemy's ships ; but the richest, valued at an hundred thousand pounds, was lost in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Many of these adventurers perished in a rash attempt at the Terceras : the rest were seized with a violent distemper : and it was not without extreme difficulty, that the few hands which remained, were able to bring back their ships into harbour.

Notwithstanding the profound tranquillity which Elizabeth enjoyed during the rest of her reign, she could not forbear regarding every action of the Scottish king with the most anxious attention. It was natural to think, that this heroic princess, who knew so well how to defeat all the attempts

attempts of her enemies, would not have retained that suspicious jealousy towards Scotland, which she had always harboured during the life-time of Mary.

James, indeed, was possessed of his mother's claims ; but he was not possessed of the favour of the Catholics, which could alone make these claims dangerous : and as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an unlimited authority over her subjects, it was not probable, that the king of Scots, who was of a quiet and peaceable disposition, would ever endeavour to disturb her in the possession of her throne.

Yet all these circumstances could not allay her fears and apprehensions ; and far from gratifying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident, which might increase his influence or authority with the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor.

Most of his ministers and favourites were in her pay ; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged them to oppose every alliance, which could be offered him ; and during some years, she succeeded but too well in this malignant policy.

He had fixed his eye on the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, who being a remote prince, and not very powerful, could not give her any cause of suspicion; yet did she so artfully cross this negotiation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, bestowed his daughter on the duke of Brunswick.

James then renewed his addresses to the younger daughter; but still found his schemes traversed by the politics of Elizabeth, who merely with a view of defeating the project, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, however, was determined to be no longer abused by her artifices and intrigues: the articles of marriage were immediately adjusted: the ceremony was performed by proxy: and the princess set sail for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway.

This tempest, and some others, which happened about the same time, were universally ascribed to a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was considered as an incontestible proof of the justice of the accusation.

James,

James, however, though a great believer in witchcraft, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to bring home his bride: he landed in Norway; carried the queen to Copenhagen; and having spent the winter in that city, he conducted her next spring to Scotland, where they were received by the people with every possible demonstration of joy.

The queen having failed in her attempt to prevent the marriage of the Scottish king, began to turn her attention to the affairs of the Continent, particularly those of France, which were now involved in the utmost disorder and confusion.*

The violence of the league having compelled Henry to declare war against the Hugonots, these religionists seemed exposed to the most imminent danger; and Elizabeth, who always considered her own interests as intimately connected with those of that party, had supported the king of Navarre by her negociations in Germany, and still more by the large sums of money, with which she supplied him.

That heroic prince, not dispirited by the great superiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587, obtained at

Coutras,

* A. D. 1590.

Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the same time defeated by the army of the league, under the duke of Guise, his situation, notwithstanding his victory, seemed still as desperate as ever.

The chief advantage which he derived from this diversity of fortune, was the jealousy, which, by that means, arose among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, filled with admiration of the duke of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against their king, of whose designs they were suspicious, took to arms, and compelled him to fly for his safety.

That prince concealing his resentment, engaged in a negotiation with the league; and having bestowed many high offices on Guise and his adherents, convoked an assembly of the states at Blois, under pretence of concerting measures for supporting the intended war against the Huguenots: but finding all his schemes traversed, and even his throne exposed to the most imminent danger, by the artifices and intrigues of the duke and his brother, the cardinal, he embraced the desperate resolution of putting these two princes to death, and accordingly caused them both to be assassinated in his palace.

This

This violent measure, which the necessity of it could alone excuse, had well nigh proved fatal to the author; and seemed at first to involve him in greater difficulties than those which he sought to avoid, by removing the cause of all his misfortunes. The partizans of the league breathed nothing but war and vengeance against him: the populace every where, particularly at Paris, disclaimed all allegiance to him: the ecclesiastics and the preachers made the pulpits resound with execrations against his name: and the most powerful cities, and the most opulent provinces, appeared to unite in one common resolution of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch.

Henry, finding himself abandoned by his Catholic subjects, was obliged to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry, and German cavalry; and, being still supported by his chief nobility, he collected, by all these means, an army of near forty thousand men, with which he advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to overwhelm the league, and subdue all his enemies.

The frantic zeal of one man interrupted the course of these great events. Jaques Cle-

Clement, a Dominican monk, fired by that bloody spirit of bigotry which has ever distinguished the Catholic religion, resolved to sacrifice his own life, in order to save the church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant; and being admitted, under some pretext, to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound with a knife, and was himself immediately dispatched by the courtiers, who instantly plunged their daggers in the bosom of the assassin. This extraordinary incident happened on the first of August, 1589.

The king of Navarre, as next lawful heir, ascended the throne under the name of Henry the Fourth; but found himself beset with much greater difficulties than those which had embarrassed his predecessor. The prejudices entertained against his religion, made a great part of the nobility abandon him; and it was only by his promise to listen to conferences and instruction, that he could prevail on any of the Catholics to acknowledge his undoubted title.

The league, headed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, began to gather fresh strength; and the king of Spain had formed a design, either of dismembering the monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful

ful circumstances, Henry applied to the queen of England, and found her sufficiently disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to defeat the schemes of the Catholics, and of the king of Spain, her natural and inveterate enemies.

The better to enable him to maintain his army, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds; a greater sum, he confessed, than he had ever seen before; and she sent him a body of four thousand men, under the command of lord Willoughby, a brave and experienced officer, who joined the French at Dieppe.

Thus reinforced, Henry advanced directly to Paris; and having taken the suburbs, sword in hand, he gave them up to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed this body of English troops in many other enterprizes, and still found great cause to extol their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being expired, he sent them back to their own country, with many expressions of his esteem and gratitude.

Towards the close of this year, died the famous Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; one of the most able and accomplished ministers that ever appeared in this or any other country; and not more distinguished by the abilities of his head,

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than the virtues of his heart. Though he had passed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he yet died so poor that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, first married to Sir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Essex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and lastly to the earl of Clanricard of Ireland.

The army which the French king brought into the field next campaign, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he ventured to engage his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, where he obtained a complete victory.* This success enabled him to besiege Paris, which he had almost compelled to surrender; when the duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, advanced to the relief of the league, and constrained Henry to abandon the enterprize.

This repulse, together with some other losses which Henry had sustained, and which, in effect, were equally detrimental to herself, determined Elizabeth to continue her succours to that monarch. The duke

duke of Mercœur, governor of Brittany, a prince of the house of Lorraine, had revolted to the league ; and finding himself hard pressed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged to provide for his own safety, by introducing some Spanish troops into the sea-port towns of that province.

Elizabeth was startled at the danger ; and foresaw that the Spaniards, besides disturbing the English commerce by privateers, might make use of these harbours as the seat of their naval preparations, and might more easily from that neighbourhood, than from Spain or Portugal, attempt an invasion of England.

She therefore entered into a new treaty with Henry, by which she engaged to supply him with three thousand men, to be employed in the reduction of Brittany, and stipulated, that she should be reimbursed for her expences in a twelve-month, or as soon as the enemy was expelled.

These forces were commanded by Sir John Norris ; and, under him, by his brother Henry and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Dieppe : and a squadron of ships, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, hovered on the coast of France, and intercepted all the

N 2 vessels

vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

The operations of war can very little be regulated by any previous treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it necessary to postpone the intended expedition into Brittany, persuaded the English commander to join his army, and assist him in the war which he carried on in Picardy. Notwithstanding the displeasure which Elizabeth expressed at this disappointment, she agreed to furnish him with a new body of four thousand men, in order to enable him to expel the leaguers from Normandy. These troops were commanded by the earl of Essex; a young nobleman of the most promising hopes, who, by many external accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to possess that place in her affections, which Leicester, who was now dead, had so long enjoyed.

Henry was no sooner joined by these auxiliaries, than he advanced into Normandy, and invested Röuen, which he reduced to the last extremity. But the league, who were unable of themselves to make head against him, applied once more to the duke of Parma, who was ordered immediately to march to their relief. This task he performed

formed with his usual ability and success, and, for the present, defeated all the designs of Henry and Elizabeth.

The queen, however, who considered her own interest as, in some measure, connected with that of Henry, was not deterred, by this disappointment, from concluding a new treaty with that monarch. It was agreed, that neither party should make peace with Philip, without the consent of the other : Elizabeth promised to assist Henry with a new supply of four thousand men ; and he engaged to refund her expences in a twelvemonth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Brittany, and to put into her hands a sea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the English.

Henry foresaw the impossibility of performing some of these articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others ; but finding them rigidly insisted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her favours, and hoped he might easily, under some pretence, be able to excuse his failure in the execution of his part of the treaty. This campaign was the least successful to Henry of any which he had hitherto carried on against the league.

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During these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Spain, and attempted to seize the Indian treasure, the source of that greatness which rendered Philip so formidable to all his neighbours. She dispatched a squadron of seven ships, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, for this purpose ; but the king of Spain, apprized of her design, equipped a fleet of fifty-five sail, and sent them to convoy the Indian navy.

They met with the English squadron ; and, by the obstinate bravery of Sir Richard Greenville, the vice-admiral, who refused to make sail with the rest of the fleet, they took one ship, the first English man of war which had yet fallen into the hands of the enemy.* The rest of the

squadron

* This action of Sir Richard Greenville is so extraordinary, as to deserve a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet, consisting of fifty-five ships, and which carried no less than ten thousand men ; and from the time that the action begun, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and endeavoured to board him with fresh men. He himself was dangerously wounded in the beginning of the action ; but he continued doing his duty

squadron returned safely to England, disappointed in their expectations, but pleasing themselves with the reflexion that their attempt to annoy the enemy, had not been altogether ineffectual. The Indian fleet had been

duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to be in want of powder; all their small arms were broke in pieces or become useless; of their number, which was but a hundred and three at first, forty were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; their masts were beat overboard, their rigging destroyed, and nothing but a hulk remained, unable to move one way or other.

In this condition, Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to commit themselves to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards; and to blow up the vessel, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, approved of this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and compelled Sir Richard to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days after; and his last words were: "Here die I,
" Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind;
" for that I have ended my life, as a true soldier ought
" to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and
" honour: my soul willingly departing from this body,
" leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as
" every valiant soldier is in duty bound to do." In
this sharp, though unequal conflict, the Spaniards lost
four ships, and about a thousand men; and, in a few
days, Greenville's vessel herself perished, with two
hundred Spaniards on board. *Hackluyt's Voyages.*

been so long detained in the Havannah, from the fear of the English, that they were obliged, at last, to put to sea in an improper seafon, and most of them were shipwrecked before they reached the Spanish harbours.

The earl of Cumberland made a like unsuccessful attempt against the Spanish trade. He sailed from England with one ship of the queen's, and seven others fitted out at his own expence ; but the captures which he made did not defray the charge of the expedition.

This war had almost ruined the trade of Spain ; but it was likewise attended with considerable expence to England, and Elizabeth's ministers computed, that, from the commencement of it, she had expended, in France and Flanders, and on her naval expeditions, no les than one million two hundred thousand pounds ; a burden, which, notwithstanding her great œconomy, was too heavy for her narrow revenue to support.

She therefore summoned a parliament, which met on the nineteenth day of February ;* and as the members were fully satisfied with the prudence of her measures, and

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* A. D. 1593.

the success of her arms, they readily voted her three subsidies, and six fifteenths; a greater supply than had ever before been granted at one time by parliament.

In this session, there was a very severe law enacted against seditious sectaries and disloyal persons: for these two species of criminals were always, in that age, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society.

It was decreed, that any person, above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend the public worship, should be committed to prison; that if, after being convicted of this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he is to suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy.

This law bore as hard upon the Puritans as upon the Catholics; and had it not been imposed by the queen's authority, was probably, in that respect, very much contrary to the private sentiments and inclinations of the majority in the house of commons. It appears, however, to have passed through both houses with little or no opposition.

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The generosity and complaisance of the parliament, consoled the queen, in some measure, for the mortifications she underwent from the conduct of Henry king of France. That prince, finding it impossible to reduce his kingdom to obedience while he professed the Protestant religion, and being hard pressed by his Roman Catholic friends, solemnly renounced the reformed doctrines, and declared himself a convert to the church of Rome.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of this event, than she wrote a severe letter, reproaching him with his apostacy ; but as she knew that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she admitted his apologies, continued her succours both of men and money, and concluded a new treaty, in which they engaged never to make peace but by common agreement.

The intrigues of Spain were not confined to France and England : the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, occasioned new disorders in Scotland, and filled Elizabeth with fresh apprehensions. George Ker, brother to the lord Newbottle, had been seized, while he was making a secret voyage into Spain ; and some papers were found

found about him, by which a dangerous conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen with Philip was discovered.

The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three powerful families, had engaged in a confederacy with the Spanish monarch ; and had agreed to raise all their vassals, to join with thirty thousand Spanish troops, which Philip undertook to send into Scotland ; and after restoring the Catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united forces, in order to accomplish the same purpose in England. Graham of Fintry, who had also embarked in this conspiracy, was taken, and tried, and executed,

Elizabeth dispatched lord Borcugh as her ambassador into Scotland, and advised the king to inflict the same punishment on the three earls, to forfeit their estates, and by annexing them to the crown, both augment his own revenues, and convince all his subjects of the imminent dangers attending treason and rebellion.

This advice was certainly very prudent, but not so easy to be executed by the small force and limited authority of James. He therefore requested from her some supply of men and money ; but though she had reason to consider the prosecution of the

Popish

Popish earls as a common cause, she could never be persuaded to afford him the least assistance.

The tenth part of the expence, which she employed in supporting the French king and the States, would have been sufficient to effectuate this purpose, more immediately essential to her interest : but she seems ever to have entertained some secret enmity towards James, whom she hated, both as her heir, and as the son of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from enabling him to prosecute the Catholic conspirators, she rather contributed to his inquietude, by encouraging the turbulent disposition of the earl of Bothwel, a nobleman descended from a natural son of James the fifth.

Bothwel had more than once endeavoured to make himself master of the king's person ; and being banished the kingdom for these traiterous designs, he took refuge in England, was secretly protected by Elizabeth, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of undertaking some new enterprize.

He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king ; and, by the mediation of the English ambassador, compelled him to submit to very dishonourable terms : but James having

having summoned a convention of the States, annulled this agreement, as extorted by violence; again banished Bothwel the country; and obliged him to fly into England for safety.

Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which she was bound to surrender up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scotland. These disorders prevented, for some time, the prosecution of the Catholic earls; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms.

The noblemen, though they gained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted as the king's lieutenant, found themselves so hard pressed by James himself, that they agreed, on certain conditions, to quit the kingdom. Bothwel being detected in a confederacy with them, lost the favour of Elizabeth, and was obliged to take refuge, first in France, then in Italy, where he died, some time after, in great poverty and distress.*

The established authority of the queen effectually secured her from all such at-

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* A.D. 1594.

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tempts as those to which James was exposed, from the turbulent disposition of his subjects; and her enemies had no other means of disturbing her domestic tranquillity than by such traitorous and perfidious machinations, as always terminated in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments.

Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being arrested on suspicion, acknowledged, that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he declared, that he had no other view than to cheat Philip of his money, and never intended to perform his promise.

This evasion, however, did not save his life: he was executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these perfidious attempts of his ministers, but could not obtain any satisfaction. York and Williams, two English Catholics, were afterwards detected in a like conspiracy with Ibarra, and suffered the punishment due to their crime.

Instead of revenging herself by retaliating in this dishonourable manner, Elizabeth fought a more noble vengeance, by afflicting

assisting the king of France, and enabling him entirely to break the force of the League, which, ever since the conversion of that monarch, was daily declining, and was threatened with a speedy and total dissolution.

Norris commanded the English troops in Brittany, and had a considerable share in the reduction of Morlaix, Quimpercornetin, and Brest, towns garrisoned by Spanish forces in that province. In every action, the English, though so long unaccustomed to arms, discovered a strong military genius; and the queen, though herself a heroine, had more frequent occasion to blame her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution.

Sir Martin Forbisher, her brave admiral, lost his life, with many others, before Brest. It had been stipulated that Morlaix should be granted to the English as a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, evaded this engagement by making it be inserted in the articles, that none but Catholics should be admitted into the city.

Next campaign, the French king, who had so long been at variance with Philip, was at last provoked by the loss of Cha-

telet and Durlens, and the attack of Cambrai, to declare war openly against that monarch.*

Elizabeth imagined, that, as the league was now almost entirely ruined, Henry was sufficiently able to support himself by his own force and valour; and as she was apprehensive of a new invasion in England, and a dangerous insurrection in Ireland, she recalled most of her troops, and sent Norris to quiet the commotions in this latter kingdom.

Some disgusts, which she had received from the States, added to the remonstrances of her frugal minister, Burleigh, made her likewise inclined to lessen his charges on that side; and she even demanded, by her ambassador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed of all the money which she had laid out in assisting them.

The States, besides alledging the terms of the former treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her, till the conclusion of a peace, represented their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty of supporting the war; much more of saving money to discharge their incumbrances.

After

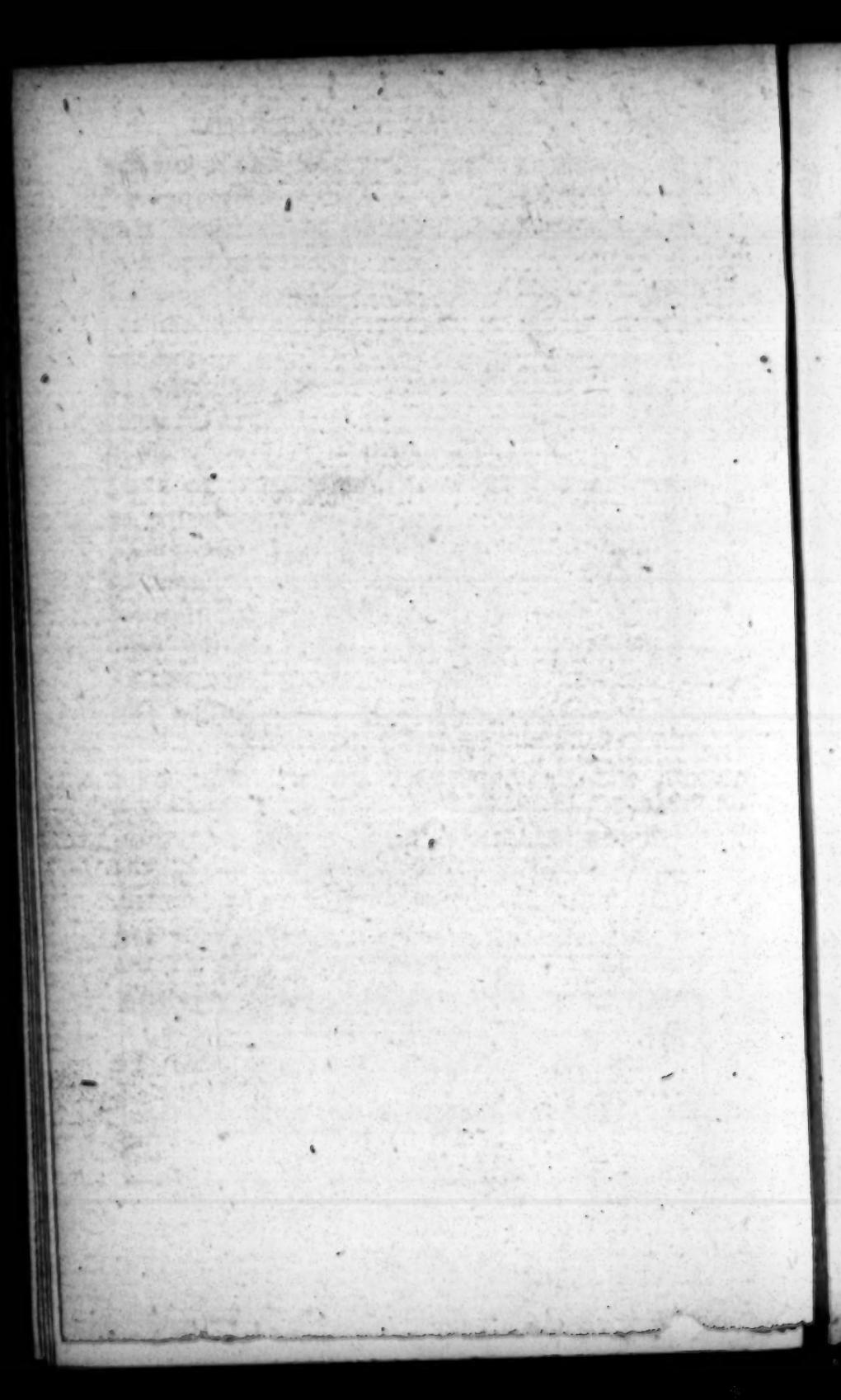
* A. D. 1595.

HENRY STUART Prince of WALES



J. Hollar sculp't

Engraved for Rider's History of England



After much negociation, a new treaty was at last concluded; by which the States were obliged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, amounting to forty thousand pounds a year, to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years, to assist her with a certain number of ships, and to agree to no peace or treaty without her consent.

They likewise engaged, on the conclusion of the war with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of an hundred thousand pounds for four years; but with this proviso, that the payment should be in lieu of all debts, and that they should be supplied, at their own expence, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England.

The queen still kept possession of the cautionary towns, which was a great check on the rising power of the States; and she entrusted the important place of Flushing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave and experienced officer, who had greatly distinguished himself by his valour in the Low-Countries.*

At the same time, Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France, at the head

of twenty thousand men, with which Elizabeth, in consequence of a new treaty concluded with Henry, had bound herself to supply that prince. The treaty contained some new stipulations for mutual assistance, and a renewal of all their former engagements.

These English troops were maintained at the expence of the French king: yet did Henry consider this supply as of the utmost importance, on account of the great bravery and resolution discovered by the English, in so many fortunate enterprizes, undertaken against the common enemy.

In the great battle of Turnhout, fought this campaign by prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sidney, performed the most noble and heroic achievements; and the fortunate success of that day was universally ascribed to their valour and discipline.*

Though Elizabeth, at a great expence of blood and treasure, waged war against Philip in France and the Low-Countries, the most severe blows, which she gave the Spanish greatness, were owing to those naval expeditions, which either she or her subjects undertook almost every season.

In

* A. D. 1597.

In 1594, Richard Hawkins, son to Sir John, the famous navigator, obtained the queen's commission, and setting sail with three ships, entered the South-sea by the Straits of Magellan : but his attempt proved unsuccessful, and he himself was made prisoner on the coast of Chili.

The same year James Lancaster was sent out with three ships and a pinnace, by the merchants of London ; and was more fortunate in his adventures. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy ; and not satisfied with this success, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where, he knew, great treasures were at that time lodged.

As he drew near the land, he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy ; but nowise intimidated by this circumstance, he placed the bravest of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with such violence against the shore as to dash them in pieces. By this desperate action, he both deprived his own men of all hopes of returning but by victory, and struck the enemy with such a panic, that they immediately fled with the utmost precipitation. He returned home safely with the treasure which he had so nobly acquired.

In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had forfeited the queen's favour by an intrigue with one of her maids of honour, and who had been committed to prison for this misdemeanour, was no sooner restored to his liberty, than he resolved to recover his influence by attempting some bold and hazardous enterprize.

The success of the first Spanish adventurers against Mexico and Peru had produced an extreme avidity in Europe; and an opinion universally prevailed, that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet unknown, there were mines, and treasures, and riches, infinitely superior to any thing which Cortez or Pizarro had yet met with.

Raleigh, whose genius was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook, at his own expence, the discovery of this wonderful country. Having made himself master of the small tower of St. Joseph in the Isle of Trinidad, where he found no riches, he quitted his ship, and sailed up the river Oronoko in pinnaces, but without finding any thing to answer his expectations.

Whether he was ashamed to acknowledge his disappointment, or had a mind to send others on the same fruitless errand

stand with himself, certain it is, that, on his return, he published a description of this country, full of the greatest and most palpable lies that ever were imposed on the credulity of mankind.

The same year, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; and they set sail with six ships of the queen's, and twenty more, which they had either equipped at their own expence, or which were supplied them by private adventurers. The land-forces, which they carried on board, were commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville.

They first proposed to attack Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and discovered the intentions of the English. The island was put in a posture of defence; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave attack, which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with considerable loss.

Hawkins soon after died; and Drake directed his course to Nombre di Dios, on the Isthmus of Darien; where having landed his men, he endeavoured to push forward to Panama, with a view of pillaging that

that place, or, if such a scheme should appear practicable, of keeping and fortifying it.

But he found greater difficulties in executing this project, than he at first expected. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where blocked up the passes, and had planted troops in the woods; which so annoyed the English with continual skirmishes and alarms, that they were forced to return, without being able to accomplish their purpose. Drake himself was soon after seized with a violent distemper, which carried him off in a few days.

Baskerville assumed the command of the fleet, which was in a very weak condition; and after having fought a drawn battle with the Spanish navy near Cuba, he returned in safety to England. The Spaniards received some damage from this enterprize; but the English derived no profit.

The English, discouraged by the bad success of this expedition to the Indies, resolved rather to attack the Spanish dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was assembled at Plymouth, consisting

ing of an hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war; the rest tenders and small vessels: twenty ships were added by the Hollanders.

This fleet carried six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen. The land-forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; the navy by lord Effingham, high-admiral. Both these commanders had employed considerable sums of their own in this armament: for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed as a council to the general and admiral.

The fleet set sail on the first of June, 1596; and being favoured with a fair wind, directed its course towards Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was fixed.

They sent before them some armed tenders, which seized every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves had the good fortune, when

they

they came near Cadiz, to take an Irish vessel, which informed them, that that port was full of merchant ships of immense value, and that the Spaniards lived in the most perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. The English were greatly encouraged by this intelligence, and conceived the most sanguine hopes of a fortunate issue to the enterprize.

After having in vain attempted to land at St. Sebastian's on the western side of the island of Cadiz, it was proposed, in a council of war, to attack the ships and gallies in the Bay. This proposal was deemed somewhat rash and imprudent; and the lord admiral, who was naturally cautious, endeavoured to oppose it: but Essex warmly recommended the enterprize; and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea, and discovered symptoms of the most extravagant joy.

He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham told him, that the queen, who was anxiously concerned for his safety, and who dreaded the effects of his youthful ardour, had given secret orders, that he should not be allowed to command the van in the attack.

That

That office was executed by Sir Walter Raleigh and the lord Thomas Howard ; but no sooner did Essex come within reach of the enemy, than he had forgot the promise he had made to the admiral of keeping in the midst of the fleet : he broke through all restraints, and rushed forward into the thickest of the fire. The attack was made with such irresistible fury, that the enemy were obliged to cut their cables, and retire farther into the Bay, where many of their ships were bulged upon the shore.

Essex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal ; and immediately advanced to the assault of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried sword in hand : but the general, who was no less generous than brave, presently stopped the slaughter, and treated his prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness.

The English made a rich plunder in the city ; but failed of a much richer, by the resolution taken by the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, of setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

It is supposed that the loss, which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprize,

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mounted to no less than twenty millions of ducats ; besides the mortification which that proud and haughty people suffered by seeing one of their chief cities taken, and a fleet of such immense value destroyed in their harbours.

Essex, fired with the love of glory, considered this great success only as a step to farther achievements : he strenuously contended for the retention of Cadiz, and he engaged with four hundred men and three months provision, to defend the place till succours should arrive from England. But the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the glory which they had acquired ; and were desirous of returning home, in order to secure their booty.

Every other proposal of Essex, for annoying the enemy, met with a like unfavourable reception ; his scheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for attacking the Groyne, for reducing St. Andero, and St. Sebastian : and the English, finding it impossible to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast, with a few ships.

On his return, he complained heavily to the queen of their want of courage in this enterprize ; and she was somewhat displeased that they had not endeavoured to intercept

cept the Indian fleet ; but their great success in the attack of Cadiz, was sufficient to atone for all their miscarriages : and that princess, though she was charmed with the lofty genius of Essex, could not forbear expressing an esteem for the other officers.

The admiral was advanced to the title of earl of Nottingham ; and this promotion gave great offence to Essex. In the preamble to the patent, it was said, that the new dignity was bestowed upon him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships ; a merit which Essex arrogated entirely to himself : and he offered to assert his claim, in single combat, against the earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The enterprizes in the subsequent year, were not attended with the same success ; but as the Indian fleet had almost fallen into the hands of the English, Philip had reason to see the great hazard and disadvantage of that war in which he was embarked, and the visible superiority which the English, by their naval power and their situation, had obtained over him.

The queen hearing that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and disabled by the expedition at Cadiz, were equipping a new squadron at Ferrol

and the Groyne, and were sending troops thither, with a view of making a descent upon Ireland, was determined to defeat their design, and to destroy the shipping in these harbours.

She assembled a large fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were ships of war, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers. This fleet carried five thousand new-levied soldiers, and a thousand veterans, whom Sir Francis Vere brought over from the Netherlands.

The earl of Essex, commander in chief, both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron : lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another ; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third ; lord Mountjoy commanded the land-forces under Essex : Vere was constituted marshall ; Sir George Carew, lieutenaant of the ordinance ; and Sir Charles Blount, first colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwel, and Rich, with several other noblemen, served as volunteers.

Essex set sail from Plymouth on the ninth day of July ; but was no sooner out of the harbour than he was attacked by a violent storm, which shattered and dispersed his ships ;

ships ; and, before they could be repaired, his provisions were so much exhausted, that he judged it imprudent to carry so numerous an army along with him.

He therefore dismissed all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans under Vere ; and, laying aside all thoughts of assaulting Ferrol or the Groyne, he confined his views to the scheme of intercepting the Indian fleet, which had at first been considered only as the secondary object of the expedition. In prosecution of this plan, he directed his course towards the Azores, at which the carracks were expected to stop ; and he told Raleigh, that, on his arrival, he intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands.

By some accident the fleet was separated ; and Raleigh arriving first before Fayal, judged it most adviseable, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants, by farther delay, should have time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

The attempt was successful ; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, was highly incensed at this conduct, and considered it as an intention to deprive the general of the glory which attended that action. He therefore cashiered Sidney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had assisted in the enterprize ; and

P 3 would

would have proceeded to the same extremity against Raleigh himself, had not lord Thomas Howard employed his good offices, and prevailed on Raleigh, though very high-spirited, to ask the general's pardon.

Essex, who was generous, as well as hasty and passionate, was soon pacified, and both received Raleigh into favour, and restored the officers to their command. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly compromised, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards prevailed between these two gallant commanders.

Essex then made the necessary preparations for intercepting the Indian galleons; and Sir William Monson, whose station was the most remote of the fleet, having descried them, made the signals which had been previously concerted. That able officer plainly ascribes Essex's failure of success to his want of experience in seamanship; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by the general appears very reasonable as well as candid.

The Spanish galleons, perceiving the danger to which they were exposed, made all the sail possible to the Terceras, and got into the safe and well fortified harbour of Angra, before the English fleet could overtake

take them. Essex intercepted only three prizes; which however were so valuable as to defray all the expences of the expedition.

The miscarriage of this enterprize was the subject of much controversy and dispute in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took different parties, as they either favoured Essex or Raleigh, the people, who admired the former for his gallantry, spirit, and generosity, were strongly inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct.

The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, observed a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to dispense her favours with an impartial hand between them.

Sir Robert Cecil, second son to lord Burleigh, was a courtier of very promising hopes, closely connected with Raleigh; and she appointed him secretary of state, instead of Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex had recommended for that office.

But, not to offend Essex by this preference, she advanced him to the dignity of earl marshal of England, a post which had been vacant ever since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury.

Essex might learn, from this conduct, that she never meant to give him an entire ascendant

ascendant over his rivals, and might thence be convinced of the absolute necessity of prudence and circumspection. But his spirit was too high for submission ; his temper was too frank and open to practise the arts of dissimulation ; and his free sallies, while they only endeared him the more to men of the like generous sentiments, exposed him, in the end, to the artifices and intrigues of his enemies.

The Spanish war having exhausted the queen's treasure, she was obliged to summons a parliament which met on the twenty fourth day of October ; and she easily obtained a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths ; the same supply which she had received about four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual, that the commons had voted it should never afterwards be considered as a precedent.

This supply, however great, was absolutely necessary for the purposes of goverment, as the chief burden of the war was likely, for the future, to lie on England.* Henry had receivd proposals of peace from Philip ; but, before he would engage in a negotiation, he gave intimation of it to his allies, the queen, and the States ; that, if posible, a pa-

* A. D. 1598.

a pacification might be made by common consent and agreement.

These two powers sent ambassadors to France, in order to remonstrate against a peace with Spain; but Henry represented the wretched and distressed situation of his kingdom, his total inability to support the war, and the advantageous nature of the terms that were offered him, in such a strong and striking light, that the envoys were obliged to desist from their opposition.

A separate peace between France and Spain was accordingly concluded at Vervins, by which Henry recovered possession of all the places which had been taken by Philip during the course of the civil wars, and procured himself leisure to regulate the interior police of his kingdom.

His capacity for the acts of peace, was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his œconomy, vigour, and industry, he raised France from the calamities in which she was at present involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before attained.

The queen knew, that she should be able, whenever she thought proper, to conclude the war on her own terms, and that Philip would be glad to deliver himself from

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from the attacks of an enemy who had foiled him in every contest, and who had it still so much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms.

Some of her wisest counsellors, particularly the lord treasurer, advised her to adopt pacific measures; but the earl of Essex, actuated by the love of glory, and ambitious of displaying his military talents, strongly recommended a continuance of the war.

The rivalship between this nobleman and Burleigh, made each of them insist on his own counsel with the greater warmth; and, as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed every day to gain the ascendant over the minister.

Had his prudence and circumspection been equal to his shining qualities, he would have so established himself in her majesty's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to overturn his credit: but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit obedience which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects.

Being

Being once engaged in a dispute with her, about the nomination of a governor for Ireland, he was so far transported by the violence of his passion, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility ; and turned his back upon her, as a mark of contempt.

Her anger, which was naturally prompt and violent, was rouzed at this provocation ; and she instantly gave him a box on the ears ; bidding him “ go and be ‘‘ hanged.” Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand on his sword, and swore he would not bear such treatment, were it from Henry the eighth himself ; and, in a furious passion, he immediately quitted the court.

Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Essex, advised him to repair his error by proper acknowledgments ; and besought him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must necessarily attend his engaging in a contest with his sovereign, and abandoning the service of his country.

But Essex was deeply stung with the affront which he had suffered ; and seemed to think, that an insult, which might be forgiven to a woman, was become a mortal

tal injury when it came from his sovereign.

" If the vilest of all indignities," said he in a letter to the chancellor, " is done me, does religion command me to sue for pardon? doth God require it? is it impiety not to do it? why? cannot princes err? cannot subjects receive wrong? is an earthly power infinite? pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, shew no sense of princes injuries: let them acknowledge an infinite absolution on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven." (Alluding, perhaps, to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was generally suspected of Atheism.)

" As for me," adds he, " I have received wrong, I feel it: my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering every thing that can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourself a looker on: and me a player
" of

" of my own game, so you may see more
 " than I: but give me leave to tell you,
 " that since you do but see, and I do
 " suffer, I must of necessity feel more than
 " you."*

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* The whole letter is written in such a noble and manly strain, that the curious reader, we imagine, will not be displeased with a sight of it. " My very good lord: though there is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner make judge of any question that might concern me than yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges: and if in any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth has imposed on me the heaviest punishment without trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your lordship's argument, or or else forsake mine own just defence, I will force mine aching head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontent, which was forced, to an humorous discontent; and that it was unseasonable, or is of so long continuing, your lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate: natural seasons are expected here below; but violent and unseasonable storms come from above: there is no tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect a harvest of their careful and painful labours.

" He that is once wounded, must needs feel smart, till he is cured, or the part hurt become senseless: but cure I expect none, her majesty's heart being obdurate against me; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may

" aim

This spirited letter was shewn by the chancellor to Essex's friends; and they were so

" aim at the end: I do more than aim, for I see
" an end of all my misfortunes; I have set an end to
" all my desires. In this course do I any thing for
" my enemies? when I was at court, I found
" them absolute; and, therefore, I had rather they
" should triumph alone, than have me attendant up-
" on their chariots. Or do I leave my friends?
" when I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit
" of my love unto them; and now, that I am a her-
" mit, they shall bear no envy for their love towards
" me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do enjoy
" myself? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I
" build not a fortune of paper walls, which every
" puff of wind bloweth down? or do I ruinate mine
" honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or
" wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of
" honour? do I give courage or comfort to the fo-
" reign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter
" with her? or because I keep my heart from busi-
" ness, though I cannot keep my fortune from de-
" clining? No, no, my lord, I give every one of these
" considerations its due weight; and the more I weigh
" them, the more I find myself justified from offend-
" ing in any of them. As for the two last objections,
" that I forsake my country, when it hath most need of
" me, and fail in that most indissoluble duty which I
" owe to my sovereign; I answer, that if my country
" had at this time need of my public service, her ma-
" jesty, that governeth it, would not have driven me
" to a private life.

" I am tied to my country by two bonds, one pub-
" lic, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust
" which is committed to me; the other private, to
" sacrifice

so imprudent as to disperse copies of it :
yet notwithstanding this additional provo-

Q 2

vocation

" sacrifice for it my life and carcass, which hath been
" nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dis-
" missed, discharged, and disabled by her majesty : of
" the other, nothing can free me but death ; and
" therefore no occasion of my performance shall sooner
" offer, but I shall meet it half-way. The indissolu-
" ble duty which I owe unto her majesty, is only the
" duty of allegiance, which I never have nor ever can
" fail in : the duty of attendance is no indissoluble
" duty. I owe her majesty the duty of an earl, and
" of lord marshall of England. I have been content
" to do her majesty the service of a clerk ; but I can
" never serve her as a villain, or a slave. But yet you
" say I must give way unto time, so I do ; for now
" that I see the storm come, I have put myself into
" the harbour.

" Seneca saith, we must give way to fortune : I
" know that fortune is both blind and strong, and
" therefore I go as far as I can out of her way. You
" say, the remedy is not to strive ; I neither strive nor
" seek for remedy. But you say, I must yield, and
" submit : I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor
" allow the imputation laid upon me to be just : I
" owe so much to the author of all truth, that I can
" never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to be
" truth. Have I given cause, you ask ; and yet take
" a scandal when I have done ? No ; I gave no
" cause, not so much as Fimbria's complaint against
" me ; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere* : receive
" the whole sword into my body. I patiently bear all,
" and sensibly feel all that I then received, when this
" scandal was given me : nay more, when the vilest
" of all indignities are done unto me." *Birch's Mem.*

Vol. II. p. 388.

cation, the queen's partiality was so great, that she restored him to his former favour, and her kindness towards him seemed rather to have acquired new force from that short interruption of anger and resentment.

The death of lord Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about this time, contributed still more to fix him in the queen's confidence; nor could any thing, indeed, but his own folly and imprudence, have ever ruined his well-established credit.

Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by an uncommon felicity was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. The last act of this able minister, was the concluding a new treaty with the Dutch, who, after being, in some measure, abandoned by the king of France, were glad to secure the queen's alliance, by agreeing to any terms which she was pleased to prescribe.

The debt which they owed her was now fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to be continued, till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be discharged.

They

They promised, during the continuance of the war between England and Spain, to maintain the garrison of the cautionary towns ; they engaged, that, if Spain should attack England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot ; and that if she undertook any naval enterprize against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to hers. By this treaty the queen was freed from an annual charge of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Elizabeth was consoled, in some measure, for the loss of her minister Burleigh, by the news, which she received about this time, of the death of her capital enemy, Philip the second ; who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid.

This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but scorning to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to the archduke Albert, the property of the Low-Countries ; but as that princess was not likely to have any posterity, and as the reversion, in case of the failure of her issue, was

still reserved to the court of Spain, the States considered this deed only as the change of a name, and continued to resist the Spanish arms with their wonted vigour and resolution.

The other states of Europe, likewise, made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France and the open assistance of England, still retarded the progress of Albert, as it had formerly done that of Philip.

The queen's attention was soon after engaged by the situation of affairs in Ireland, which were now involved in the utmost disorder and confusion.* Though the dominion of the English over that kingdom had been established above four centuries, it may be safely affirmed, that their authority had been little more than nominal.

The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to withstand; but as no regular army was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they still relapsed

lapsed into their former state of barbarity and independence.

The usual revenue of Ireland amounted to no more than six thousand pounds a year: the queen, though with much reluctance, commonly added twenty thousand out of her own treasury; and with this small sum, a body of one thousand men was maintained, which, in extraordinary cases, was augmented to two thousand. No wonder, that a force, so unequal to the occasion, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to exasperate the natives, and to excite those insurrections and rebellions, which still farther inflamed the hatred between the two nations, and increased the licentiousness and disorders, to which the Irish were naturally subject.

In 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the Great O'Neale, as the Irish called him, because head of that powerful clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; and after some skirmishes, was indulged with a pardon, upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future.

This lenity encouraged him to excite a new insurrection in 1567; but being repulsed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he fled into Clandeboy, and rather than submit

submit to the English, he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders, who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a grudge against him on account of some former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at an entertainment to which they had invited him.

Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been honoured by the queen with the title of earl of Tyrone; but having killed his cousin, son to that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion, to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and excited all those disorders, by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government.

He secretly encouraged the discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnells, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and promises, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russel, who, in 1594, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland.

Contrary to the advice and remonstrances of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was allowed to depart; and returning to his own country, he formed the design of exciting an open rebellion, and of relying

ing no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He engaged in a correspondence with Spain : he procured from thence a supply of arms and ammunition ; and having united all the Irish chieftains in a close confederacy, he began to be considered as a formidable enemy.

The native Irish were so miserably poor, that their country afforded few other commodities but cattle and oatmeal, which were easily destroyed or driven away on the approach of the enemy ; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expence necessary for maintaining her armies, the English found much difficulty in improving their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the woods, bogs, and other fastnesses, among which they took shelter.

These motives induced Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, to listen the more willingly to any terms of peace that were offered him by Tyrone ; and, after the war had been protracted by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been amused by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient fame, was seized with a languishing distemper, which soon after brought him to his grave.

The

The fate of Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more deplorable. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, invested by the rebels, he was attacked in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, confounded by their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopt by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general, were killed in the action.

This victory, so uncommon to the Irish, greatly elevated their spirits, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who now assumed the character of deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty.

The English council were now sensible, that the rebellion in Ireland was become more dangerous than they at first apprehended, and that the former method of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of suffering them to purchase pardons, by resigning part of the plunder, acquired during their insurrections, tended only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them.

It was therefore determined to prosecute the war in a more vigorous manner; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount,

lord

Lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was possessed, she thought, of such talents as fitted him for this undertaking.

But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of glory, solicited this government for himself; and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, contributed to render his wishes successful. The queen herself was strongly possessed in favour of Essex's military genius; and she accordingly appointed him governor of Ireland, under the title of lord lieutenant.

The more to encourage him in that enterprise, she invested him, by patent, with more extensive powers than had ever before been bestowed upon any lieutenant; the power of carrying on, or concluding, the war as he thought proper; of pardoning the rebels, and disposing of all the considerable employments in the kingdom.

And to ensure him of success, she assembled a numerous army, of sixteen thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards increased to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; a force, which, it was imagined, would be sufficient, in one campaign, to subdue the rebels,

rebels, and make an entire conquest of Ireland.

Nor did Essex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, lord admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, secretary, Sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, endeavour to oppose these mighty preparations ; but flattered themselves, that the higher the queen's hopes of success were raised, the more difficult it would be for the event to answer her expectations.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended by the acclamations of the populace, and accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an attachment to his person, had engaged in the service, and proposed to acquire fame and military experience, under so celebrated a commander.

The first act of authority which he exerted, after his landing in Ireland, was an imprudence ; but of the generous kind : and, in both those respects, agreeable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse ; a nobleman who had offended the queen, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore prohibited Essex from employing in any command under him.

She

She was no sooner informed of this instance of disobedience, than she wrote him a severe letter; reprimanded him for his presumption, and ordered him to recal his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who believed that some reasons, which he opposed to her first injunctions, had convinced her, was so imprudent as to remonstrate against these second orders; and it was not till she repeated her commands, that he could be persuaded to displace his friend.

Essex on his arrival at Dublin, held a consultation with the Irish council, concerning the best method of carrying on the war; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which proved the ruin of his enterprise.

He had always, while in England, condemned the conduct of former commanders, who artfully spun out the war, who harassed their troops with skirmishes and excursions; and, by indulging the rebels with truces and temporary pacifications, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces. Agreeably to these views, he had ever declared for leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the capital enemy; and his instructions had been drawn conformable to these his professed resolutions and intentions.

But the Irish counsellors assured him, that the season was too early for such an enterprise, and that as the marshes, in which the Irish commonly took refuge, would not, as yet, be penetrable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster.

Their real reason for this advice, was, that many of them enjoyed estates in that province, and were desirous of having the enemy expelled from their neighbourhood : but the same selfish spirit, which had prompted them to give this council, made them soon after disown it, when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended.

Essex compelled all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces ; but as the Irish imagined, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, that she designed to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to extirpate them, they considered their present defence as a common cause ; and the English forces had no sooner retired, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and engaged in a new confederacy with their countrymen.

The army, mean while, from the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become extremely sickly ; and, on their return to Dublin, about the middle of July, were greatly diminished in number.

Even their courage was somewhat abated : for though they had succeeded in some lesser attempts, as against the lord Cahir and others ; yet had they sometimes met with a more vigorous resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were used to despise ; and as they were raw troops, and unexperienced, a considerable body of them had been defeated at Glins, by an inferiour number of the enemy. Essex was so incensed at this pusillanimity, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men : but this rigorous proceeding, though necessary, had only intimidated the soldiers, and rendred them more averse to the present service.

The queen was highly offended, when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was spent in these fruitless enterprizes ; and was still more surprized, that Essex pursued the same practices which he had so frequently blamed in others, and which he knew to be so contrary to her purpose and intention.

That nobleman, in order to give his troops time to recover from their sickness and fatigue, marched with a small body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie, against the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he compelled to submit: but, on his return to Dublin, he found the army so greatly reduced, that he transmitted to the English council, an account of his condition; and told them, that unless he immediately received a supply of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him, this season, to undertake any enterprize against Tyrone.

That there might be no pretence for farther delay, the queen immediately sent over the number required; and Essex began at last to prepare for an expedition into Ulster.

The soldiers were so extremely unwilling to undertake this enterprize, and so much intimidated by the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, and some of them deserted; and Essex found, that, after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could hardly lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible, that, as the winter was now approaching, it would be impossible for him

to

to subdue an enemy, who, though superior in number, was firmly resolved to avoid every opportunity of coming to a general engagement.

He listened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place, near the two camps, was accordingly chosen for the interview. The generals met, without any attendants, on the opposite banks of a river, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle.

After a short conference, where Tyrone behaved with great respect and submission to the lord-lieutenant, a suspension of arms was concluded to the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broke off by either party, upon a fortnight's warning.

At the same time, Essex received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had demanded many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions; and there appeared afterwards, some reason to suspect that he had here engaged in a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

This unexpected miscarriage of an enterprize, the greatest and most expensive which Elizabeth had ever undertaken, incensed her extremely against Essex; and

her disgust was greatly increased, by other circumstances of that nobleman's behaviour.

He wrote several letters to the queen and council, full of passionate and peevish expressions; complaining of the ill treatment he had received from his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him, and betraying symptoms of a mind equally haughty and discontented. She took care to acquaint him with her displeasure; but commanded him to continue in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex was at once informed of the queen's anger, and the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, a post which he himself expected; and apprehending, that, if he remained any longer absent, he would entirely lose the queen's affections, he hastily embraced a resolution, which, he knew, had once succeeded with the earl of Leicester, the former favourite of Elizabeth.

Leicester hearing, while in the Low-Countries, that his mistress was greatly dissatisfied with his conduct, disobeyed her orders, by coming over to England; and, having appeased her by his presence, by his apologies, by his flattery and insinuation,

tion, frustrated all the designs and expectations of his enemies.

Essex, therefore, considering more the similarity of circumstances, than the difference of characters between himself and Leicestier, immediately set out for England ; and, proceeding with the utmost expedition, he arrived at court before any one could have the least notice of his intention.

Though covered with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber ; nor stopped till he came to the queen's bed chamber, who was newly risen, and sitting with her hair about her face. He fell on his knees before her, kissed her hand with the most profound respect, and had some private conversation with her ; and, on the whole, he met with such a gracious reception, that he was heard, on leaving the apartment, to express his joy, and to thank God, that, though he had suffered many storms and tempests abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.

But this placability of Elizabeth, was merely the effect of her surprize, and of that momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite ; after she found time for reflection,

flection, all his faults recurred to her memory ; and she thought it necessary, by some severe punishment, to humble his haughty and imperious spirit, who, presuming on her partiality and kindness, had pretended to controul her councils, to engross all her favour, and to act, in affairs of the utmost importance, without regard to her orders and instructions.

When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely changed in her behaviour towards him ; she ordered him to be confined to his chamber ; to be twice examined by the council ; and, though his answers were modest and submissive, she committed him to the custody of the lord keeper, Egerton, and held him secluded from all company, even that of his countess ; nor was so much as the intercourse of letters permitted between them.

Essex was so deeply affected with these marks of her majesty's displeasure, that he presently fell into a violent distemper, which seemed to put his life in danger.

The queen had always declared to the whole world, and even to the earl himself, that the chief intention of her severity, was to chastise, not to ruin him ; and when she heard of his condition, she was not a little alarmed with the danger.

She

She ordered eight physicians, of the greatest knowledge and experience, to attend him; and being informed, that the issue of his disease was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and desired that physician to acquaint him, that, if she thought such a step consistant with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. The by-standers, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked, that, in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears.

These symptons of the queen's returning affection, had a wonderful effect on the mind of Essex, who, being now indulged with the company of his countess, was soon so much restored in his health, as to be thought out of all danger.*

Elizabeth was made to believe, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to excite her pity and compassion; and she relapsed into her former rigour against him.

He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on new years day; as was usual among the courtiers of that time: she read the letter, but refused the present. Nevertheless, after some interval of severity, she allowed

allowed him to retire to his own house ; and, though he still remained under a kind of confinement, and was secluded from all company, he was so grateful for this mark of indulgence, that he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion.

There were several incidents which kept alive the queen's resentment against Essex. Every account which she received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. Tyrone, so far from being subdued, had thought proper, in less than three months, to violate the truce, and, joining with O'Donell, and other rebels, had over-run almost the whole kingdom.

To check the progress of this turbulent cheiftain, the queen appointed Mountjoy lord deputy of Ireland, and sent him over to that country, with a fresh body of forces. Mountjoy found the island in a desperate situation ; but being a man of vigour and capacity, he was so little disheartened, that he immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart of that province, the chief seat of the rebels : he fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to overawe the Irish : he drove them

from

from the field, and obliged them to take refuge in their inroads and morasses : he employed, with equal success, Sir George Carew, in Munster : and, by these successful enterprizes, he, in a great measure, restored the queen's authority in that country.

As the comparison of Mountjoy's administration with that of Essex, contributed to alienate her affections from her favourite, she received an additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice which was done him, by his removal from court, and by his confinement.

Libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil, Raleigh, and all his enemies; and his popularity, which was always great, seemed rather to be augmented than diminished by his misfortunes.

Elizabeth, in order to vindicate her conduct to the public, had often taken the resolution to have him tried in the Star-chamber : but her tenderness for him prevailed over her severity ; and she was satisfied to have him examined by the privy-council.

The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the

the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer commonly exercised against the unfortunate. He represented, in the most odious colours, all the faults of which Essex had been guilty in his administration of Ireland; his appointing Southampton general of the horse, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his abandoning the enterprize against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his bestowing knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone, and his sudden return from Ireland, in violation of her majesty's orders. He likewise insisted on the indignity of the conditions which he had suffered Tyrone to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he, a public toleration of the Catholic religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all his adherents. The solicitor-general, Fleming, displayed the wretched situation in which he had left that kingdom; and Francis Bacon, son to Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge with exaggerating the undutiful expressions contained in some letters wrote by the earl.

Essex,

Essex, when his turn came to speak in his own behalf, renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology ; and declared his resolution never on this, or any other occasion, to engage in any contest with his sovereign. He said, that, having retired from the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to acknowledge every failing or error into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him ; that his inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty was so deep, that it exceeded all his outward calamities and afflictions, nor did he decline making a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to lay to his charge ; that in his acknowledgements, however, he still retained one reserve, which he would never relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and dutiful heart, an unfeigned affection for her majesty, and an earnest desire to perform to her the best service, which his poor abilities would allow ; and that if this sentiment was recognized by the council, he would willingly submit to any sentence or condemnation which they should think proper to pronounce against him.

This submission was expressed with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the spectators. All the privy-counsellors, in giving their opinion, made no difficulty in doing justice to the earl, with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he considered as his capital enemy, treated him with respect and humanity; and the sentence pronounced by the lord-keeper, (to which the council assented) was in these words :

" If this cause," said he, " had been
" tried in the Star-chamber, my vote
" would have been for as great a fine as
" ever was imposed upon any man in that
" court, together with perpetual confine-
" ment in that prison which belongeth to
" a man of his quality, the Tower. But
" as we are now in another place, and
" in a course of favour, my sentence is,
" that the earl of Essex is not to ex-
" ecute the office of a counsellor, nor
" that of earl-marshal of England, nor of
" master of the ordnance; and to return
" to his own house, there to remain a
" prisoner, till her majesty shall think pro-
" per to free him from this and all the rest
" of the sentence."

Bacon,

Bacon, who afterwards acquired immortal fame by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to the lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary : but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had received so little assistance from his powerful relations, that he not yet obtained any preferment in the law to which he was bred.

But Essex, who had sagacity to distinguish merit, and generosity to love it, had contracted an intimate friendship with Bacon ; had zealously endeavoured, though without success, to procure him the office of queen's solicitor ; and, in order to console his friend for the disappointment, had bestowed upon him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds.

The public, therefore, were highly disgusted with Bacon for appearing before the council against so generous a patron : though he acted in obedience to the queen's orders : but she was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed upon him a new task, of drawing up an account of that day's proceedings, in order to convince the nation of the justice and lenity of her conduct.

Bacon, who wanted resolution, more than humanity, represented the whole transaction in the most favourable light for Essex; and, in particular, displayed, in the most lively colours, the dutiful submission which that nobleman had made in the apology which he offered for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not be easily forgotten. He answered, that he hoped she meant that of herself.

All the world, indeed, expected that Essex would soon be restored to his former credit; and, in all probability, he would actually have been so, had either the queen been satisfied with the punishment which she had already inflicted upon him, or had he been able to submit to one other instance of her rigour and severity.

That nobleman possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he flattered himself that the queen would renew it, and regarded this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to recover his influence and authority.

But Elizabeth, though gracious in her demeanour, was naturally haughty and severe;

vere ; and being continually encompassed with Essex's enemies, she was made to believe, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that he must suffer this farther trial, before he could safely be readmitted into power ; she, therefore, refused his petition ; and even subjoined, in a contemptuous stile, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender.

This rigour, pushed one step too far, occasioned the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was productive of infinite grief and affliction to the queen herself. Essex, who had hitherto with great difficulty suppressed his resentment, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, broke thro' at once all restraints of submission and of prudence, and was resolved to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies.

Even, during his greatest favour, he had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand against his sovereign ; and as this practice was agreeable to his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently concluded, that it was the only proper method of managing her : but being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition, and

threw off all appearances of duty and respect.

He practiced, with equal industry and success, all the arts of popularity in which he particularly excelled ; and endeavoured to engage, in his interest, all desperate adventurers, whose attachment, he hoped, might be of service to him in the present emergency : he secretly courted the favour of the Catholics and Puritans, both of whom were equally dissatisfied with the present government : he was even so unguarded, as to throw out some severe and sarcastical reflections on the person and temper of the queen, who, he said, was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body ; a circumstance, which inflamed her resentment to the highest degree against him ; he entered into a private correspondence with the king of Scots, whose title to the English throne he promised to support, at the hazard of his life and fortune ; and he even prevailed on his intimate friend, the lord Mountjoy, governor of Ireland, to engage that he would bring over part of his army into England, in order to effectuate that purpose : he represented his enemies, the earl of Nottingham, admiral, lord Buckhurst, treasurer, and secretary Cecil, as secret

cret enemies of the Scottish succession, and declared friends to the Spanish pretensions : he formed a select council of malecontents, who commonly met at Drury-house, and were composed of Sir Charles Davers, to whom the house belonged, the earl of Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and John Littleton : he boasted that he had an hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, at his devotion ; and that all the populace of London, and most of the commonalty in the kingdom, were warmly attached to his interest : and he communicated to his associates, those secret designs and resolutions, with which his confidence, in so powerful a party, had inspired him.*

Among other criminal projects, the effect of blind rage and despair, he consulted with them about the method of taking arms ; and asked their opinion, whether he had best begin with the Tower or the palace, or set out with making himself master at once of both places. The latter enterprize being deemed the most eligible, a method was concerted for carrying it into execution.

It

It was resolved, that Sir Christopher Blount, with a chosen body, should take possession of the gates of the palace; that Davis should seize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, accompanied by a body of his partizans, should beseech the queen, with all possible humility, to remove his enemies, should oblige her to convoke a parliament, and should, with common consent, establish a new plan of government.

While these desperate schemes were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were suggested to the queen; and she sent Robert Sackville, the treasurer's son, to Essex-house, under pretence of a visit; but, in reality, with a view of discovering whether there was in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations which seemed to threaten an insurrection.

Soon after, Essex received a summons to attend the council, which was assembled at the treasurer's house; and, while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sackville, a private note was delivered to him, by which he was advised to provide for his own safety.

He

He presently concluded, that his whole conspiracy was fully discovered, or at least strongly suspected, and that the gentlest punishment which he could expect, was a new and more rigorous confinement ; he therefore excused himself to the council, on pretence of an indisposition ; and he immediately dispatched messengers to his more intimate friends, requiring their advice and assistance in the present emergence.

Next day there appeared, at Essex-house, the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune ; and Essex acquainted them with the danger to which, he alledged, the machinations of his enemies exposed him.

To some he said, that he would throw himself at the queen's feet, and implore her justice and protection : to others, he boasted of his interest in the city, and affirmed, that, whatever might happen, this resource could never fail him.

The queen was apprized of all these designs, by means of intelligence, conveyed, as was generally suspected, to Raleigh, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges ; and having commanded the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord-keeper, with the earl of Worcester, Sir William

William Knollys, comptroller, and Popham, lord chief justice, to Essex-house, in order to know the cause of these unusual preparations.

They were with difficulty admitted thro' a wicket; but all their servants were excluded, except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they commanded Essex's adherents, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were threatened, in their turn, by the angry multitude who surrounded them, the earl finding that the plot was entirely discovered, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and proceed to the execution of his former project.

He sallied forth, with about two hundred attendants, armed only with swords; and, in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. He exclaimed, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life;" and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose assistance he greatly depended.

The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but, though he assured them that England was sold to the Infanta, and desired them to take arms immediately, otherwise they could not do him any service, no

one seemed willing to follow his advice. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, slipped out at the back-door, and made the best of his way to the lord-mayor.

Mean while, Essex perceiving the coldness of the citizens, and hearing, that he was denounced a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and the lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and resolved to return to his own house: but he found the streets barricaded in his passage, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he had a great regard, was killed with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himself, attended by a few of his adherents, retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex-house.

He there heard, that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper, and the other counsellors, had set them all at liberty, and had accompanied them to court. He was now reduced to despair; and seemed determined, in compliance with lord Sandys advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to die like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than to fail basely by
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the hands of the executioner: but after some parley, and after demanding, in vain, first hostages, then conditions, from the besiegers, he submitted at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and equitable trial.

The queen, who, during all this commotion, had behaved with as much indifference, as if there had only been a fray in the streets, in which she was no way concerned, soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the rebels. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, Buckhurst acting as high steward on the occasion.

The guilt of the prisoners was too notorious to be called in question; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury house, were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court, and gave his testimony: the confessions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwel, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davis, Blount, and Davers, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age.

When sentence was passed, Essex spoke like a man who laid his account with dying; but he said, that he should be sorry

if

if he was represented to the queen, as a person that despised her mercy ; though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more modest and submissive : he implored the good offices of the peers, in so moving and affecting a manner, as drew tears from the spectators.

After Essex had spent some days in the solitude and reflexion of a prison, his proud heart was subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion ; and fearing that he could never procure the pardon of heaven, unless he made a full discovery of his sins, he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scotland.

He spared not his most intimate friends, such as lord Mountjoy, whom he had drawn into these conspiracies ; and he accused Sir Harry Neville, a man of merit, of a correspondence with the rebels ; though it appears, that that gentleman had never agreed to the proposals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not discovering the earl's treason ; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the strongest aversion.

Neville was committed to prison, and suffered a severe persecution : but as the queen

found Mountjoy a very able and successful commander, she continued him in his government, and sacrificed her resentment to the good of the public.

Elizabeth was extremely desirous of obtaining the praise of clemency; and in every great example which she had made during her reign, she had always discovered the utmost reluctance and hesitation: but the present condition of Essex awakened all her tender affections, and filled her with the most real anxiety and concern. She felt a perpetual struggle between anger and inclination, pride and compassion, care for her own safety, and tenderness for her favourite; and her situation, during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity, than that of the unhappy Essex himself. She signed the warrant for his execution; she recalled it: she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of affection.

Essex's enemies assured her, that he himself wished to die, and declared that she could never be in safety while he was alive: it is probable, however, that this mark of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all that love and tenderness, which she had so long indulged to the unfortunate prisoner.

But

But what chiefly hardened her heart against him, was his supposed obstinacy in never presenting, as she hourly expected, any petition to her for mercy and forgiveness; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and readily owned the justice of the sentence, by which he was condemned.

He suffered privately in the Tower, agreeable to his own request. He was afraid, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people should too much affect his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of heaven was the only proper sentiment, which he could indulge; and the queen, doubtless, thought it most adviseable, to remove so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye.

Some of Essex's associates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, Davis, were tried and condemned, and all of them, except Davis, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest; being convinced that they were drawn in merely from their attachment to that nobleman and their care for his safety; and were wholly unacquainted with the more criminal part of his intentions.

The king of Scots, who was afraid least his
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correspondence with Essex might have been discovered and have given umbrage to Elizabeth, dispatched the earl of Mar and the lord Kinloss to England, to felicitate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. They were likewise ordered to enquire whether any steps had been taken by her to exclude him from the throne, as well as to found the inclinations of the chief nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's decease.

They found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish; and they engaged in a correspondence with secretary Cecil, whose authority after the fall of Essex was now unlimited, and who was determined, by this policy, to secure, in time, the confidence of the successor.

The king of France, who bore no goodwill to James, and who was averse to the union of England and Scotland, made his ambassador to drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for defeating the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil flatly rejected the proposal, the court of France took no farther steps in that matter: and thus the only foreign power, which could give much disturbance to James's succession, was obliged to acquiesce in it.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth found that she had no reason to repent of the lenity which she had shown to Mountjoy, who now conducted the affairs of Ireland with great ability and success. He made frequent incursions against the rebels, and built a fortress at Moghery ; he expell-ed the Mac-Genises from Lecale ; he har-rassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions ; and by destroying, every where, and during all seasons, the provis-ions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish with famine in the woods and morasses, a-mong which they were forced to take shelter.

At the same time, Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, surprised the castle of Derry, and put gar-risons into Newton and Alnogh ; and having taken possession of the monastery of Donnegal, near Balishannon, he threw troops in it, and defended it against the at-tacks of O'Donnel and other rebels.

Nor was Sir George Carew less active in the province of Munster. He seized the titu-lar earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Maccarty, another chieftain, priso-ner to England. He arrested many sus-pected persons, and exacted hostages from others ; and being reinforced with a body of two thousand men from England, he threw him-self into Corke, which he supplied with arms and provisions ; and he put every thing

in a proper posture for opposing the Spanish invasion, which was daily apprehended. The deputy, apprized of the danger which threatened the southern provinces, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, who was now reduced to great extremity ; and he marched with his forces into Munster.

At last the Spaniards, amounting to four thousand men, and commanded by Don John D'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale, of which they took possession. Mountjoy immediately laid siege to this place ; but he had no sooner began his operations, than he heard that another body of two thousand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, were landed in Ireland, and were advancing to the relief of their countrymen. He therefore detached Sir George Carew to oppose their progress. That officer succeeded in his enterprize, and gained a compleat victory over the enemy. Ocampo was taken prisoner : D'Aquila was obliged to surrender on such terms as the deputy was pleased to prescribe : Tyrone and other rebels, who had joined the invaders, were forced to fly into Ulster ; and thus a considerable progres was made towards an entire reduction of the kingdom.

On the twenty-seventh day of October, the queen assembled a parliament ; and as the members were fully sensible of the great neces-

necessities of government, and of the immense sums which Elizabeth had expended in defending her own dominions, and assisting her allies, they granted her an extraordinary supply of four subsidies, and eight fifteenths.

The remaining transactions of this reign, are neither numerous nor important. A squadron of nine ships, commanded by Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, was sent to insult the Spanish coasts, and to retort the damage which the enemy had done in their late invasion of Ireland. They attacked the port of Cerimbra in Portugal, where, notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, they broke into the harbour, and took a rich carrack which was stationed there, and which was valued at a million of Ducats.*

The affairs of Ireland, after the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Tyrone, finding himself unable to make head against the deputy, applied for a pardon, by means of his brother Arthur Mac-Baron; but Mountjoy would not receive him upon any other terms than those of an absolute surrender of his life and fortune to the queen's mercy. He appeared,

therefore, before the deputy, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune ; and, after acknowledging his offence in the most humble manner, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's mercy.*

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event : she had fallen into a deep melancholy, occasioned, as is generally supposed, by her grief for the death of the earl of Essex. That nobleman, while in the height of his favour, had received from her majesty a present of a ring, which she desired him to keep as a pledge of her affection, and assured him, that, into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet if he sent her that ring, she would immediately, upon sight of it, recollect her former tenderness, would afford him a hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology.

The earl, after his trial and condemnation, committed this precious gift to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen ; but the countess was persuaded by her husband, who was

Essex's

* A. D. 1603.

Essex's capital enemy, not to execute the commission ; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect to his invincible obstinacy, was, at last, impelled by her resentment to sign the warrant for his execution.

The countess of Nottingham being seized with a dangerous distemper, and finding her end fast approaching, was touched with remorse for her conduct ; and having received a visit from the queen, she implored her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, thunderstruck with this intelligence, burst into a furious passion : she shook the dying countess in her bed ; and crying to her, " that God might forgive her, but she never could ;" she rushed from her, and thenceforth resigned herself to the most incurable melancholy.

She rejected all consolation : she even refused food and sustenance : and throwing herself on the floor, she remained silent and immovable, feeding her thoughts on her reflections, and declaring that she considered life and existence as an insupportable burden. Few words she spoke ; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which preyed upon her heart : but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave

gave to her despondency, and which, tho' they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or abate them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions, which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not prevail on her to suffer herself to be put to bed, much less to take any of the medicines which they prescribed.

Her frail body was at last so much exhausted by her anxiety of mind, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being convened, sent the lord-keeper, the lord-admiral, and the secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She replied, with a faint voice, that as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil, entreating her to explain herself more particularly, she added, that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman the king of Scots.

Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts on God, she said, that she did not so; nor did her mind in the least wander from him. In a short time her voice left her, her senses failed, she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently, without farther struggle or

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convulsion, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

Such was the mournful and melancholy end of one of the greatest and most illustrious sovereigns that ever adorned the English throne. Elizabeth, in her person, was handsome, tall, straight, and strong-limbed, with an high round forehead, brown eyes, fair complexion, white teeth, and yellow hair. She danced with equal grace and agility; her voice was strong and shrill; she understood music, and played well upon several instruments. She possessed an excellent memory, understood the dead and living languages, had made great proficiency in the sciences, and was well acquainted with history.

Her talents for government are universally acknowledged, even by her greatest enemies. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person who ever swayed a sceptre. By the force of her mind, she controuled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess: her heroism was free from rashness, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her courage

courage from turbulency and vain ambition ; she guarded not herself with equal care, or equal success from lesser infirmities, the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

The wise ministers, and brave warriors, who flourished during her reign, partake in the praise of her success ; but instead of diminishing, they greatly encrease the applause due to her merit. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice ; they were supported by her constancy ; and, with all their ability, they were never able to obtain any undue influence over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she was equally mistress : the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior ; and the struggle which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to shew, in a more striking light, the strength of her resolution, and the firmness of her character.

End of the TWENTY FIRST VOLUME.

